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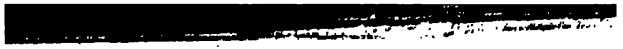

See page 14.

WORDS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD;

OR,

Martin Luther his own Biographer.

BEING

PICTURES OF THE GREAT REFORMER,

SKETCHED MAINLY FROM HIS OWN SAYINGS.

By CHARLES ADAMS.

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PREFACE.

This little volume is not a biography of the great Luther. Its plan is rather to present to the young some choice specimens of his sayings and addresses. Connecting these, however, are interwoven such notices as to furnish a somewhat adequate picture of the great Reformer, as he appeared amid the most interesting years of his life.

For most of the sketches herein comprised I am indebted mainly to the work of D'Aubigné, from whose voluminous and captivating pages I have endeavored to draw forth the subject of my book, and, with a style and brevity suited to youthful readers, set him forth for their contemplation.

The "seeds of things" lie thickly strewed amid the history and words of Luther, and deeply

suggestive will be his spirit and sayings to young and serious minds. Nor is it possible for such minds to ponder his career without realizing an impulse that cannot fail to be eminently salutary as well as pleasing.

The immortal Reformer was far from being perfect; while, at the same time, considering the circumstances of his life, he must be said to have excelled in goodness as well as greatness; and the world has hardly commenced to appreciate the debt which it owes, under God, to the talents, energy, industry, and Christian intrepidity of Martin Luther.

C. A.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
YOUTH	18
STUDIES	18
CONVERSION	22
PREACHING	26
ROME	31
DOCTORATE	35
PHILOSOPHY AND FAITH	39
CHARACTERISTICS	42
LUTHER AT DRESDEN	44
INDULGENCES	46
OPPOSITION	49
THE DREAM	51
THE FULFILLMENT	55
THE EXCITEMENT	57
THE STRUGGLE	60
TETZEL AND PRIERIAS	63
HOCHSTRATEN AND ECK	65
GRAVE EXTRACTS	67
LUTHER AT HEIDELBERG	73
OTHER EXTRACTS	76
ROME AROUSED	79
LUTHER AND CAJETAN	88

PAGE
FIRST CONFERENCE 86
SUCCEEDING CONFERENCES 91
LUTHER'S RETURN 95
LETTERS 100
CLOUDS AND SUNSHINE 103
LUTHER AND MILTITZ 107
A BRIEF RESPITE 110
LUTHER AND DR. ECK 114
THE PRELIMINARIES 117
THE PORTRAITS 119
THE DISCUSSION 123
RESULTS 125
THE FERMENT 129
LUTHER'S APPEAL 133
APPEAL CONTINUED 137
EFFECT OF THE APPEAL 141
LUTHER TO THE POPE 143
FAITH 145
THE EXCOMMUNICATION 147
APPEAL FROM THE POPE 150
THE AUTO DA FE 152
PAPAL STRUGGLINGS 155
ERASMUS 160
THE CONFESSIONAL 162
THE DIET OF WORMS 164
ALEANDER THE LEGATE 167
PROGRESS OF EVENTS 169
THE NUNCIO'S SPEECH 173
DUKE GEORGE'S SPEECH 178

PAGE
THE SUMMONS 181
THE DEPARTURE 185
THE JOURNEY 187
THE RECEPTION 192
THE INTRODUCTION 196
FIRST ANSWER 201
SECOND ANSWER 204
THIRD ANSWER 210
EFFECT 215
NEGOTIATION 220
FINAL EFFORTS 225
RETURN 229
THE CONCEALMENT 237
PRISON LIFE 245
OVERTURNINGS 254
LUTHER ABROAD 260
EFFECTUAL PREACHING 269
THE NEW VERSION 277
THE ROYAL POLEMIC 282
PROSPERITY 288
COLLATERAL INFLUENCES 294
LUTHER'S MARRIAGE 298
LUTHER AND ERASMUS 306
LUTHER AND ZWINGLE 314
CLOSING SKETCHES 325
DEATH 329

Illustrations.

PAGE

LUTHER SINGING IN THE STREETS..... 2
LUTHER'S BIRTH..... 12
LUTHER AT SCHOOL..... 16
LUTHER DISCOVERS THE LATIN BIBLE..... 20
LUTHER ENTERS THE AUGUSTINE MONASTERY... 23
LUTHER CONSOLED BY A MONK..... 27
LUTHER EMBRACING THE CROSS..... 34
LUTHER CONSECRATED DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.... 38
LUTHER AFFIXING HIS THESES TO THE CHURCH DOOR..... 54
LUTHER PREPARING BY PRAYER FOR HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE THE EMPEROR AND EMPIRE..... 69
LUTHER BEFORE CAJETAN..... 92
LUTHER LEAVING AUGSBURG..... 97
LUTHER LECTURING..... 112
LUTHER'S RECEPTION AT WORMS..... 193
LUTHER BEFORE THE EMPEROR AND EMPIRE..... 212
LUTHER ENTERING THE WARTBURG..... 235
LUTHER TRANSLATING THE BIBLE..... 251
LUTHER'S DEPARTURE FROM THE WARTBURG.... 255
LUTHER AND THE STUDENTS IN THE INN..... 262
LUTHER AND MELANCTHON TRANSLATING THE BIBLE..... 276
LUTHER'S MARRIAGE..... 299
CONTROVERSY BETWEEN LUTHER AND ZWINGLE 318

WORDS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

YOUTH.

A GREAT name is that of Luther; a name to be carried down the generations, and which will be conspicuous forever.

Let us, out of multitudes, gather up a few precious reminiscences and sayings of this great name, that the young, and the struggling, and the irresolute, and the desponding, as well as the more sanguine and aspiring, may review them, and catch inspiration as they meditate, and rally strength as they inwardly digest.

Luther's parents were poor, very poor. His father was a wood-cutter, and his mother often carried the wood on her back, that she might earn wherewith to bring up her children. These parents gave to their son the knowledge of God, and trained him to virtue.

While at school at Magdeburg, he sung in

the streets to earn his bread, and often received harsh words instead of food, and lay down at night in sorrow, and wept in secret, and trembled at the future.

A Christian Shunammite, the wife of Conrad Cotta, more than once remarked the poor boy in the assemblies of the faithful, had seen his harsh treatment and his overwhelming sorrow, and became to him as a sister; and her doors were open to welcome him, and he went in and dwelt there; and his wants were supplied, and his mind became calm, and his heart was cheerful, and the sweet beams of charity warmed his whole nature, expanding it into life, and joy, and happiness. Blessed Ursula! Will she not receive the mercy of the Lord in that day?*

In after times, as memory would revert to this excellent lady, who had supplied his wants when all others repulsed him, Luther uttered the memorable saying, that "there is nothing sweeter than the heart of a pious woman."

And also in his maturer years he thought with gratitude on the extreme poverty of his youth, and counted it one of the means, in the hand of Providence, of making him what he afterward became. "Do not despise," he would say, "the boys who try to earn their

* See Frontispiece.

ABC
DE

bread by chanting before your door, '*Bread, for the love of God!*' I have done the same; and now, by means of my pen, I have succeeded so well, that I would not change fortunes with the grand seignor himself. I may say more: if I were to be offered all the possessions of the earth, heaped one upon another, I would not take them in exchange for what I possess."

Great, humble man! He was not afraid of confessing that the voice whose notes electrified the world, had, but a little time before, begged a morsel of bread in the village streets.

John Trebonius was one of Luther's professors, who, as he entered the school-room, removed his hat, and bowed respectfully to the scholars. His colleagues expressing their astonishment at his extreme condescension, he replied: "There are, among these youths, some whom God will one day raise to the ranks of burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and magistrates." Luther heard this memorable reply, and pondered it in his heart.

STUDIES.

At his eighteenth year Luther had tasted the sweets of learning, and thirsted for knowledge, and sighed for a liberal education.

Entering the university of Erfurth, he applies himself diligently to the study of the best authors, fastens their thoughts, imbibes their spirit, seizes upon their wisdom, detects their scope, and enriches his understanding with their weighty sentences and brilliant descriptions. He soon outstripped his associates, and being gifted with a retentive memory and vivid imagination, all that he read or heard became his own, and was as if he had himself beheld it. "The whole university," says Melancthon, "admired his genius."

And Luther studied with thoughtfulness, and a heart looking toward God in profound humility, and a conviction of entire dependence upon the Divine blessing. "Every morning he began the day with prayer; then he went to church; afterward he commenced his studies, and never lost a moment in the course of the day. 'To pray well,' he was wont to say, 'is the better half of study.'"

At length amid the books of the library he

UM AMIGO
LEAL
SOARES
ARISTO
TELES

lights upon a Bible, a rare book, and at that time unknown. He had heard fragments of the Gospels and Epistles, Church selections for public worship, and had thought that these were the whole word of God. He had never seen the whole blessed book till this hour! His heart beats as he holds it in his hand, and with an eagerness and feelings indescribable he turns over the sacred leaves. He reads; and it is the story of Hannah and young Samuel. He sees the young child, who was given to the Lord as long as he should live. He listens to Hannah's song, singing how the Lord raiseth the poor from the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dung-hill, to set him among princes.

A prophetic song indeed! and who may tell the emotions of the student? With a full heart he exclaims, "O, if God would give me such a book for my own!" And he read long and often, and still read and re-read, and then would return to read again.

Thus Luther found God's word, that most precious word which he was destined to give to his countrymen, and which was soon to become the book of life to nations. "The Reformation lay hid in that Bible!"

CONVERSION.

It is not wonderful that Luther becomes more serious and more earnest for the salvation of the Gospel. A dangerous sickness, the death of his friend Alexis, and an awful thunder tempest, all conspired to urge him to the care of his soul. He thirsts for holiness as he has been wont to thirst for knowledge. He would insure his eternal salvation; he retires from the university, and takes refuge in a cloister.

Here he was subjected to the meanest services, being obliged to perform the functions of door-keeper, sexton, and sweeper, as well as to go through the streets begging from house to house for the benefit of the cloister.

Yet all this he endured patiently, and all helped to discipline him for the great destiny and work that awaited him. Amid all he studied deeply and earnestly, and especially he loved, above everything else, to draw wisdom from the pure fountain of God's word. He had constant recourse to a Bible, which he found in the convent, chained to the wall. In the Divine word he meditated long and deeply, and gave himself up to all the rigor of an ascetic life, and endeavored to crucify the flesh by fastings,

macerations, and watchings. No sacrifice was too great with him for the sake of becoming holy and securing heaven; and if ever a poor monk might have entered that world by his own merits and works, it would have been Luther.

But it is not thus that sinful man is saved. With all his strivings and toils he failed to find the "peace of God." He had been led within the cloister that he might more fully know himself, and more utterly despair of his own strength or goodness. And when all appears to be lost, and the sorrowing youth seems to himself about to perish forever, a human angel appears to him in the shape of the pious Staupitz.

"Look to the wounds of Jesus Christ," said Staupitz; "look to the blood which he has shed for you: it is there you will see the mercy of God. Instead of torturing yourself for your faults, cast yourself into the arms of your Redeemer. Trust in him—in the righteousness of his life, in the sacrifice of his death. Listen to the Son of God. He became man to assure you of the Divine favor. *Love him who has first loved you.*"

Thus spoke the wise Staupitz, and Luther listens and listens; and the peace of God which passeth all understanding fills his soul.

Yet presently he sinks into sickness, and awful doubt overwhelms him. An old monk enters his cell, and begins to recite the Apostles' Creed. And while he repeats, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," the beautiful confession sinks deeply into the heart of the sufferer. He embraces it, embraces it in the shape of his own forgiveness, and his spirit is again at rest.

PREACHING.

After a term of three years in the cloister, Luther was consecrated to the priest's office, and was called to a professorship in the University of Wittenberg. Here "he applied himself zealously to the study of the ancient languages, especially the Greek and Hebrew, that he might draw knowledge and doctrine from the fountain head. He was through life indefatigable in his studies."

And Luther begins to lecture; he lectures every day upon the Bible; and the Book of Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles are spread forth and illustrated before crowds of astonished auditors.

The teaching is novel; and the rumor thereof spreads afar, and increasing throngs of young and foreign students rally to the university.

And yet another avenue of splendid influence and usefulness opens to Luther.

"Ascend the pulpit and preach," said Staupitz to him.

"No," said the modest professor; "it is no light thing to speak to man in God's stead."

His friend persisted. Fifteen arguments or pretexts did the ingenious Luther present to excuse himself from the summons. Staupitz still persisted.

"Ah, worthy doctor," said the professor, "it would be the death of me."

"What then?" was the response. "Be it so in God's name."

And Luther ascended the pulpit. They tell that it was an old rostrum made of planks, and in an old wooden chapel propped on all sides to keep it from falling. There commenced the Reformation preaching. Immanuel, God with us, was cradled in a manger. "Among the thousand cathedrals and parish churches with which the world was filled, not one was chosen for the glorious announcement of everlasting life."

And Luther preached. "Gifted," says an enemy, "with a ready and lively intelligence, having a retentive memory, and speaking his mother tongue with remarkable fluency, Luther was surpassed in eloquence by none of his co-

temporaries. Addressing his hearers from his place in the pulpit as if he had been agitated by some powerful passion, and adapting his action to the words, he affected their minds in a surprising manner, and carried them like a torrent whither he would." "He had," says Bossuet, "a lively and impetuous eloquence, which delighted and captivated his auditory."

Luther preached, and the little chapel overflowed, and he passed up into the great church of the city, and "his wonderful genius, his eloquent style, and the excellence of his doctrines, equally astonished his auditors, and his reputation spread far and wide; and Frederic the Wise himself came once to Wittenberg to hear him."

Thus Luther is launched away upon his strong career. A new existence was opening before him, and a new and a great life awaits him. The drowsiness of the cloister was gone.

"Freedom, employment, earnest and regular action, completed the re-establishment of harmony and peace in his spirit. He was now at last in his proper place, and the work of God was about to open out its majestic course."

ROME.

All this time, be it remembered, Luther is a Catholic, a true and devoted son of papal Rome. It is the very last thing in his thoughts that he shall ever dissent; that he shall ever pass out from the communion of Mother Church; that he shall ever take up arms against her; that he shall, one day, hurl a javelin at her vitals, whose ghastly wound will not be healed till time shall be no more.

By one of those providences so noticeable along the career of Luther, he is called to visit Rome. He passes the Alps, and descends into the plains of rich and voluptuous Italy, and is filled with amazement as he goes. Lodging in a convent in Lombardy, he looks upon the magnificence of the apartments, the richness of the dresses, the delicacy of the viands, the marble, silk, and luxury of every kind, and his heart dies within him. How different from the abstinence and self-denial to which he had been accustomed! At last the seven-hilled city heaves in view. He beholds the queen of the earth; the queen of the Church. He prostrates himself upon the earth, exclaiming, "Holy Rome, I salute thee!"

Luther enters the city; and in his warm and confiding disposition, he visits the churches, gives credit to all the marvelous tales there told him, and goes through the required observances with great devotion. He repeats the mass with all unction and dignity, while he observes with horror the profane and heartless formality with which the clergy celebrate the sacrament. They read seven masses while he is reading one. "Quick, quick!" whispers one at his side, who had finished, while Luther was yet in the midst of his reading. "Make haste, make haste! Do have done with it!"

In his astonishment he sees the higher clergy as corrupt as the lower; he sees Christianity attacked rather than defended; he hears the indecent jokes and buffoonery of prelates; he is astonished at their avowals of awful profanity and hypocrisy at the mass. He mingled with the monks and citizens; listened to abominations which he never imagined; and where he dreamed of sanctity, he found nothing but profanation. "It is incredible," he says, "what sins and atrocities are committed in Rome. If there be a hell, Rome is built above it; it is an abyss from whence all sins proceed."

The Reformer looked, he saw the sickening reality, and as he beheld he drifted more fully toward Christ. His living faith in God was

mightily confirmed. Especially as upon his knees one day he was ascending Pilate's staircase, he seemed to hear a voice like thunder, repeating to him, that "*The just shall live by faith.*" He starts up from his knees in shame and horror, and flees from the scene of his folly. That text, in fact, seems to have been a creative word for the Reformer and for the Reformation.

Thus Luther finishes his visit at Rome. There God opened his eyes. He came thither to seek the solution of some unimportant difficulties concerning a monastic order; he returned with that in his heart which was to emancipate the Church.

DOCTORATE.

As Luther turned away his eyes in disgust from Rome, he directed them all the more trustfully and devoutly to the Holy Scriptures. These gained ground in his heart, while the Church more and more lost its hold upon him.

Meanwhile his two friends, the Elector and Staupitz, kept careful watch of the young and devoted professor. They were the special and strong friends whom the God of providence raised up for him, and who were commissioned

to encourage, and protect, and help him, and bear an important part in putting him on his wonderful career of reform and evangelism.

Walking together in the cloister garden, says Father Staupitz to Luther: "My friend, you must now become a doctor of the Holy Scriptures."

Luther recoiled, and the thought of so great an honor overwhelmed him. "Seek for one more worthy," he said; "I cannot consent to it."

"The Lord has much to do in the Church, and requires young and vigorous doctors." So spoke the good Staupitz, as if prophetically.

"But I am weak and sickly," responds Luther; "my days are few: look for a strong man."

"Dead or alive, the Lord requires you!" was the awful reply.

Overcome with fear, Luther exclaims: "Only the Holy Spirit can make a doctor of divinity."

"Do as your convent and I require; for you have promised to obey us," was the answer of the inexorable Staupitz.

"But I am poor, and cannot pay the expenses of such a promotion."

"The prince will take charge of the expense."

Thus Luther was obliged to submit; and, at

the age of twenty-nine, he received, at the University of Wittenberg, the degree of doctor of divinity. Now he espoused more fully than ever his well-beloved and Holy Scriptures; and he promised to preach them faithfully, and study them carefully and prayerfully, all the days of his life.

Hence and henceforth arose the Reformation! Luther was now the herald of the Bible, and no longer the mere monk or professor. He planted himself on the infallible authority of the word of God. This was with him a fundamental principle. The voice of the Reformers was that "Christians receive no other doctrines than those which rest on the express words of Christ, the apostles, and prophets. No man, nor any assembly of men, has power to prescribe new doctrines." At the sound of these solemn words Rome crumbled, and the true Church arose as from the dust of the grave.

PHILOSOPHY AND FAITH.

A NEW power seemed to fall upon Luther. Three great steps appear to have marked his progress. "His entrance into the convent had turned his thoughts toward God; the knowledge of the remission of sins, and of the right-

eousness of faith, had delivered his soul from bondage; and the oath he had now taken had given him that baptism of fire which constituted him the reformer of the Church."

Aristotle and the school-men were the first to receive his attacks; and he opposed, with all his power, the philosophy and theology which had long held so commanding an influence.

He deliberately pronounced such studies as worthless, and as the great error of the age; and he was accustomed to repeat that "the writings of the apostles and prophets are more certain and sublime than all the sophisms and theology of the schools."

"Within my heart," he added, "reigns alone, and must alone reign, faith in my Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is the beginning, the middle, and the end of the thoughts that occupy me day and night."

He was listened to with wonder as from the professor's chair, and from the pulpit, he spoke of that faith. "He who receives Christ as a Saviour," said he, "has *peace*, and not only peace, but purity of heart. All sanctification of the heart is a fruit of faith. It kills *Adam* in us, and, through the Holy Ghost, which it communicates, it gives us a new heart, and makes us new men."

It was thus that Luther was drawing his

pupils, and the thousands who listened to him, toward Christ, and away from self-righteousness. To his friend, George Spalatine, he writes: "I should like to know how it is with your soul. Is it weary of its own righteousness? In a word, does it breathe freely, and put its trust in the righteousness of Christ? O my brother, learn to know Christ and him crucified! Learn to sing a new song, to despair of your own work, and to cry unto him, 'Lord Jesus, thou art my righteousness, and I am thy sin. Thou hast taken on thee what was mine, and given to me what is thine. What thou wast not thou becamest, that I might become what I was not.'"

"Thus," says the elegant historian, "the doctrine of power, which had already been the saving of the world in the days of the apostles, and which was a second time to save in the days of the reformers, was set forth by Luther, fearlessly and clearly. Reaching across many centuries of ignorance and superstition, he, in this, gave his hand to St. Paul."

CHARACTERISTICS.

Now was rising the morning star of the Reformation, and the Divine providence was daily preparing Luther for the mighty work before him. Already his diligence seems almost unexampled: "I require," he says, "almost two secretaries; for I do scarce anything else, all day long, than write letters. I am preacher to the convent, reader of prayers at table, pastor and parish minister, director of studies, vicar of the priory, inspector of the fish-ponds of Litzkau, lecturer on St. Paul, and commentator on the Psalms."

And he is as brave and faithful as he is industrious. The plague is at Wittenberg, and most of the students and doctors fly from the city: but Luther remains. "I do not very well know," he writes to a friend, "whether the plague will suffer me to finish the Epistle to the Galatians. It makes great havoc, especially among the young. You advise me to flee; but whither shall I flee? I hope the world will not go to pieces if Brother Martin should fall. If the plague spreads, I will send the brethren away in all directions; but for my part, I am placed here. Obedience does not allow me to

leave the spot until He who called me shall call me away." The sequel showed he who shrunk not from the plague, was not the man to stagger from fear of Rome, or in prospect of the scaffold.

And Luther was as humble as he was brave. The Elector Frederic having sent him some beautiful fabric for a gown, "It would be too fine," said Luther, "if it were not a prince's gift. I am not worthy that any man should think of me—much less a prince, and so noble a prince. Those are the most useful to me who think worst of me. Present my thanks to our prince for his favor; but know that I desire neither the praise of thyself nor of others. All the praise of man is vain, the praise that cometh of God being alone true."

Here it was that Luther abode. His dwelling-place was near the heart of God, and he hung loosely upon the approbation and smiles of men. "Point out," said an amiable friend to him, "some writing to translate, but one that shall give general satisfaction, and at the same time be useful."

"Agreeable and useful!" responds Luther. "That is beyond my skill. The better things are, the less they please. What is more salutary than Christ? and yet he is to most a savor of death. You will say that what you intend is

to be useful to those who love Christ: then cause them to hear his voice; you will thus be agreeable and useful—never doubt it—but to a small number, for the sheep are but rare in this dreary region of wolves."

LUTHER AT DRESDEN.

DUKE GEORGE of Saxony is cousin of Frederic, no friend to Rome, and yet, in his great pride, no friend to a reformation like to what is dawning upon the world. He requests Staupitz to send him a learned and eloquent preacher. Luther is sent, being recommended to the prince as a man of great learning and blameless life. The prince invites him to preach at Dresden, in the chapel of the castle, and the duke and his court are present to hear the preacher from Wittenberg. Joyously does Luther seize the opportunity of bearing testimony to the truth before such an assembly. Able and faithful was the proclamation of the Gospel that day, and profound was the impression made upon the hearers.

Madame de la Sale—lady of the bed-chamber to the duchess—was present, and heard with deep emotion. "How did you like the sermon?" said the duke to this lady. "If I could but hear

one other such sermon, I would die in peace," was the lady's reply. "And I," replied the duke, "would give something not to have heard it, for such sermons are good for nothing, and serve only to encourage men in sin." The courtiers followed suite, and fell upon the sermon with merciless criticism.

Yet while the sermon was to these a savor of death, it brought life to the lady of the bedchamber, who, in one brief month afterward, died triumphing in her confidence of the grace of God through Jesus Christ to her soul.

Nor is it certain that the duke himself heard this discourse in vain; for on his death-bed he declared that he had no other hope than in the merits of Christ. Luther returned to Wittenberg and applied himself diligently to his work of teaching and preaching. He prepared ninety-nine theses relating to the sovereignty of God, and human will, and sent them to different universities, inviting discussion. But no one seemed inclined to measure swords with him touching the doctrines presented. Another and a more practical and exciting conflict was about to arise, and the grand drama is soon to be ushered fully before the eyes of the world.

INDULGENCES.

Just about this time (1517) a great agitation was reigning in Germany. The Church had opened a vast market upon earth, and the merchandise which it offered for sale was nothing else than *the salvation of souls.*

Indulgences was the name given to this merchandise, and the dealers, of whom Tetzel was the chief, rode in great state through the country. As the procession approached a town, a messenger was sent forward proclaiming to the magistrate thereof, "The grace of God and of the Holy Father is at your gates!"

Instantly everything was in motion through the town. All ages and classes rallied to meet these merchants of salvation, so that "they could not have given a grander welcome to God himself." Then the whole company moved toward the church; a large red cross was erected before the pulpit, with the pope's arms suspended from it, and there were singing, prayers, the smoke of incense, and the sound of organs and other instruments.

Thus the venders of the grace of God, with a sort of triumph, entered the church, and Tetzel ascends the pulpit. He is a Dominican, of long

experience in the traffic, and had grown rich by it, and rolled in luxury. He had before been convicted of adultery and abominable profligacy, and was near paying the forfeit of his life. But the good Elector Frederic had interceded for him and saved him. He carried two of his illegitimate children with him, and was beyond decency or shame, and was a fit functionary for the scandalous work in which he was engaged. He had all facilities of inventing stories for the furtherance of his wicked business. No means came amiss, so that they aided in the accomplishment of his designs.

He ascends the pulpit, and proceeds at once, and with the greatest vehemence and effrontery, to harangue the assembled multitudes. He extols indulgences to the skies. "These," he says, "are the most precious and sublime gifts of God."

"This cross," pointing to the red cross before him, "has as much efficiency as the cross of Jesus Christ."

"Draw near, and I will give you letters duly sealed, by which even the sins you shall hereafter desire to commit shall be all forgiven you."

"There is no sin so great that the indulgence cannot remit it. Let him only pay largely, and the greatest sin conceivable shall be forgiven him."

"Even repentance is not indispensable."

"But, more than all this, indulgences save not only the living but the dead.

"Ye people of every class, hearken to your departed parents and friends, who cry to you from the bottomless pit, 'We are enduring horrible torment! A small alms would deliver us; you can give it, and will you not?'

"The very moment that the money clinks against the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory, and flies free to heaven!"

In such a strain as this spoke this bold and stark blasphemer.

And the people, so writes the historian, came in crowds. They came not with contrite hearts, but with money in their hands. Men, women, the young, the poor, and those who lived by charity. Every one there found money.

"For particular sins Tetzel had a private scale: Polygamy cost six ducats; sacrilege and perjury, nine ducats; murder, eight; witchcraft, two."

Thus money poured without stint into the coffers of these most wicked traffickers. Many, it is true, had no faith in pretensions so extraordinary and abominable, and the people of Germany were weary of so shameful a traffic in the midst of them. Yet no bishop, it is said, dare lay a finger on the quackery and deceit of these Romish tricksters. "The minds of men

were in suspense. They asked each other if God would not raise up some powerful instrument for the work that was required to be done?"

OPPOSITION.

The tidings of this great uproar reaches the ears of Luther, and in his indignation he exclaims of Tetzel: "God willing, I will make a hole in his drum!"

Luther was still a papist of the straitest sort; yet his heart was deeply sensitive to what seemed to him to be truth or error. Presently people would come to Luther's confessional who had been guilty of various sins, and expecting absolution, not on the ground of penitence, but on the ground of the indulgences procured from Tetzel. Luther refuses to absolve them; tells them he will have nothing to do with their papers of indulgence, and assures them that, unless they repent, they will perish.

In great alarm, these deluded people return to Tetzel, and tell him that an Augustine monk treats his letters of indulgence with contempt.

Then Tetzel bellows with anger, hurls insults and curses, and lights fires in public squares,

declaring his orders from the pope to burn the heretics who should dare to oppose his most holy indulgences.

Nor did Luther stop here. He ascends the pulpit, and warns the people. He teaches them that God nowhere requires from the sinner satisfaction for his sins; that he only requires true repentance and faith, and a life devoted to Christ; and that God ever pardons *freely*, by his infinite grace. "My advice is, that none should buy the indulgences. Let the faithful be turned from them, and exhorted to a holy life." Then he adds: "If some cry that I am a heretic, I pay little regard to their clamors; they are men of gloomy or sickly minds, who have never felt the truths of the Bible, never read the Christian doctrine, never understood their own teachers, and are perishing in the tattered rags of their vain opinions." Luther descended from the pulpit, and left the hearers deeply affected by his bold discourses. And yet his admonitions produced but little effect. Tetzel continued his infamous traffic and his impious addresses to the people.

THE DREAM.

The chroniclers tell of a very curious dream of the Elector Frederic, which occurred about this time.

The Feast of All Saints was at hand, and the elector, having retired to rest, lay musing how he should keep the festival, and was praying for the poor souls in purgatory, and beseeching the Divine guidance for himself, his counselors, and his people.

In the midst of these exercises he fell asleep, and dreamed that a monk, a true son of the Apostle Paul, was sent to him; that all the saints accompanied him, for the purpose of testifying that he was divinely commissioned. They seemed to ask of the elector, that the monk might be privileged to write something upon the church door at Wittenberg; and the monk began to write, and the characters were so large and brilliant that they could be read at a great distance; and the pen he used was so long that its extremity reached even to Rome, and wounded the ears of a lion that was couching there, and shook the triple crown on the pope's head, while all the cardinals and princes ran to support it; and, as the dreamer

himself joined in the effort to support the pope's crown, he awoke in great alarm, and in anger with the monk who had used his pen so awkwardly.

And then presently he fell asleep again, and his singular dream continued; and the disturbed lion began to roar, and Rome and all the surrounding states ran to make inquiry; and the pope demanded that the monk be restrained, and demanded this especially of the elector, as the monk dwelt in his dominions.

Again the elector awoke from his dream; beseeches God to preserve the holy father, the pope, and sleeps again. And still his strange dream continues, and he sees all the princes of the empire crowding to Rome, and all striving to break the mysterious pen. Yet the more they endeavored to break it, the stiffer it became; and when they asked the monk where he found it, and why it was so strong, he replied that he received it from one of his old schoolmasters; and that its strength was, that no man could take the pith out of it. Suddenly the dreamer hears an outcry, and lo, a great number of pens had issued from the long pen of the monk!

The good elector awoke the third time, and it was broad daylight. As he tells this wonderful dream to a few select friends, one of them

exclaims: "O that we had here a Joseph or a Daniel, enlightened by the Lord!"

"We shall not know the meaning of this till the things to which it relates shall have transpired," says another.

"God be merciful!" said the elector. "I shall never forget the dream. I have thought of one interpretation; but I keep it to myself."

THE FULFILLMENT.

It was on the morning of the 31st of October, 1517, that the Elector Frederic awoke from the dream just sketched. It was the feast of All-Saints, and was a great day at Wittenberg. The costly relics of the church, incased in gold and silver, had been displayed in their magnificence before the eyes of the people, and a plenary indulgence was granted, that day, to all who visited the church and confessed themselves. On the evening of this day a monk went boldly to the church, and affixed to the door ninety-five propositions against the doctrine of indulgences. That monk was Dr. Martin Luther. He went alone; none even of his most intimate friends had any intimation of his design, and as he fastened his theses upon the door of the church, he proclaimed himself "ready to defend them the

next day, at the university itself, against all opposers."

Great indeed was the attention which these propositions excited. They were read and repeated in every direction, and the university and the whole city were thrown into confusion.

With consummate boldness did these theses of Luther attack the great scheme of indulgences. They thundered against the idea that the pope, or any other man, could by indulgences pardon sin and deliver from punishment. They affirmed that the doctrine of indulgences as taught by Tetzel was a lie; that the whole system had its foundation in avarice; that those who hoped to be saved thus, would certainly perish, and those who deceived them; that the true and precious treasure of the Church is the holy Gospel of the grace of God, and that true penitence and faith were the only means of securing this same treasure.

Here was the beginning of the mighty work. "The germs of the Reformation were inclosed in these theses. The evangelic doctrine of a free and *gracious remission of sins* was for the first time publicly professed; a doctrine which, in its legitimate issues, dispenses with the pope, dispenses with human ordinances, and all the badges and restraints of Rome, and presents instead the full liberty of the children of God.

Thus it was that that the pen which, in the elector's dream, wrote upon the church door, extended even to Rome, and its movements wrought great commotions there and roused the lion, and jostled fatally the pope's diadem, and alarmed the votaries of error and superstition, and incited princes and ecclesiastics to rally in multitudes for the support of a throne that seemed to be suddenly tottering to its final overthrow.

THE EXCITEMENT.

The theses were posted upon the church door, and challenge was given to discuss them at the university, and the multitudes that looked on were astonished. Yet no one dared accept the challenge; none appeared as a champion to oppose the theses of the Reformer. "Hardly had they been nailed to the church door," says the sprightly historian, "when the feeble sound of the hammer was succeeded by a thunder-clap which shook the very foundations of papal Rome; threatened with instant ruin the walls, gates, and pillars of the papacy; stunned and terrified its champions, and at the same time awakened from the slumber of error many thousands of men." "In the space of a fort-

night they had spread over Germany, and within a month they had run through all Christendom, as if angels themselves had been the bearers of them to all men."

The learned Erasmus received a copy of them and exclaimed: "Thanks be to God, they have now found a man who will give them so much to do that they will be very glad to leave my old age to pass away in peace."

Erasmus, as he read them, though he wished their author more moderation and prudence, yet added: "God has sent a physician who cuts into the flesh, because without such a one the disorder would become incurable."

And many eminent men, as they read these bold propositions, rejoiced with unspeakable joy. Even the Emperor Maximilian, the predecessor of Charles V., admired the theses of the monk of Wittenberg, and writes to the Elector Frederic, that he "take care of the monk Luther; for a time may come when we may have need of him." And it is said, that even the pope himself regarded them with some degree of favor, and when urged to treat Luther as a heretic, replied: "That same brother, Martin Luther, is a man of talent, and all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy." To many these theses of Luther were the signal of life. They kindled a new light in many a cell,

cabin, and even parlor." It was the indolent and corrupt that were ready to heap reproaches upon the Reformer's name. Many of the pious ones, those who feared the Lord with fastings and prayers, thanked God and took courage.

Yet some doubted. The prior of his order, frightened by Tetzel, came to Luther in great alarm, saying, "Pray do not bring disgrace upon your order!" Luther is deeply affected; but rallying, he replies, "Dear father, if the thing is not of God, it will come to naught; if it is, let it go forward."

And there were more bitter accusers than these. He is reproached with haste and levity. "Who does not know," he responds, "that we can seldom advance a new idea without an appearance of pride, and without being accused of seeking quarrels! Why were Christ and all the martyrs put to death? Because they appeared proud dispersers of the wisdom of the times in which they lived, and because they brought forward new truths without having first consulted the oracles of the old opinions." "What I am doing will not be effected by the prudence of man, but by the counsel of God. If the work is of God, who shall stop it? If it is not, who can forward it? Not my will, not theirs, nor ours; but thy will, thine, holy Father, who art in heaven!"

THE STRUGGLE.

Yet was it a great struggle, nor were the reproaches that came in like a flood upon him without their influence. He had hoped "to see the heads of the Church, the most distinguished philosophers of the nation, publicly join him; but it was quite otherwise." A word of encouragement, at first, was speedily followed by reproach and condemnation. Doubts returned, and he trembled at the thought of arraying the whole authority of the Church against him. "Who was I," he writes, "to oppose the pope's majesty, before which the kings of the earth and the whole world tremble? No one can know what I suffered in those first two years, and in what dejection and despair I was often plunged."

But God's time was come, and Luther seems to have been destined to be the pioneer of the Church's great and good deliverance. Hence he was not permitted to faint utterly; but he rallied instead, and realized in his own experience the truth of that beautiful promise that though "the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fail, yet they that wait on the Lord shall renew their

strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles."

This controversy with Tetzel on the subject of indulgences proceeds, and the latter pours his invectives upon Luther without stint. "It seems to me," says Luther, "that at the sound of these invectives I hear a great ass braying at me. I rejoice at it, and should be very sorry that such people should call me a good Christian."

This is low humor, and not to be imitated. It reminds us that Luther, with all his greatness and goodness, was a man, and not an angel.

The Reformer, sustained by the Spirit that wrought within him, was cheerful and courageous, and ere long friends began to rally around him. Nor is he unaware whence his strength, and courage, and every help are derived. "We can do nothing of ourselves," he writes; "we can do all things by the grace of God."

Especially does his humility and sense of dependence appear in connection with the sacred book of revelation: "It is plain," he says to Spalatin, "we cannot attain to the understanding of Scripture either by study or strength of intellect. Therefore your first duty must be to begin with prayer. Entreat the Lord to deign to grant you, in his rich mercy,

rightly to understand his word. There is no other interpreter of the word of God but the Author of that word himself. Even as he has said: 'They shall be all taught of God.' Hope nothing from your study or strength of intellect; but simply put your trust in God, and in the guidance of his Spirit. Believe one who has made trial of this matter."

Here the young may read the secret of Luther's coming into possession of the truth that waked up the Reformation.

Tetzel, in his rage against Luther, essays to confront his theses with antitheses, in which he proposed to defend the doctrine of indulgences, and the papal power.

Luther advances with joy to the contest, confident that his cause was the cause of truth. "Do not wonder," he writes to a friend, "that they revile me so unsparingly. I hear their revilings with joy. If they did not curse me, we could not be so firmly assured that the cause I have undertaken is the cause of God."

And yet, with all his courage, there was a certain Christian modesty and tenderness which characterized him. He loved peace in the Church and the state. "I tremble," he said, "I shudder to think that I may be an occasion of discord to such mighty princes."

TETZEL AND PRIERIAS.

A MESSENGER came to Wittenberg one day, bringing eight hundred copies of Tetzel's theses against Luther, and in favor of indulgences. Tetzel had before publicly burned the theses of Luther; and on the arrival of the messenger as above, the students of the university, in their indignation against Tetzel, purchased a part of the copies of his theses, seized the remainder, and, unknown to all other parties, posted bills on the gates of the university, publishing that the said theses would be burned, at two o'clock, in the market-place. Crowds gathered, and, amid loud acclamations, the propositions were committed to the flames. One copy only escaped the fire.

Luther was grieved at this demonstration, fearing that it would enhance the disturbances already aroused. Yet it loudly indicated "how the hearts of the young were already kindled in the cause in which Luther was the champion. It was a sign of high import, for a movement once begun among the young is necessarily communicated to the entire generation."

But a more important champion for Rome than Tetzel is taking cognizance of Luther,

and of his theses and his doctrines. This is no other than Sylvester Prierias, master of the pontifical palace, and who filled the office of censor. The Catholic doctors were divided on the great question of the supreme authority for interpreting the Sacred Scriptures. A part believed this authority rested in general councils, as representatives of the Church; while another part held that the pope was the sole depository of the spirit of interpretation, and that no one had a right to construe the Scriptures otherwise than in accordance with his decree. To this latter division Prierias belonged. "Whosoever does not rely on the teachings of the Roman Church, and the Roman pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, and as that from which Holy Scripture itself derives its obligation and authority, is a heretic." Thus spoke the haughty Prierias; and proceeded to attack Luther with the spirit of a buffoon and inquisitor, rather than with the spirit of a calm and dignified defense of the Church of Christ.

Luther met this foe with the same dauntless temper which he had evinced against other adversaries. He knew the Lord, and the Spirit of God gave him equanimity and strength, as well as understanding. Prierias had commenced his work by laying down certain principles. "Following your example," said Luther,

"I will also lay down certain principles. The first is the passage of St. Paul: 'If any one preach unto you another Gospel than that is preached, though he be an angel from heaven, let him be accursed.' The second is from St. Augustine: 'I have learned to render to the inspired Scriptures alone the homage of a firm belief that they have never erred: as to others, I do not believe in the things they teach, simply because it is they who teach them.'"

And then Luther adds to Prierias: "If you rightly understand these principles, you will also understand that your whole dialogue is overturned by them;" and then to his insinuations and threatenings he responds in those brave words: "Do you thirst for blood, then? I protest that these rhodomontades and menaces of yours give me not the slightest alarm. For what if I were to lose my life? Christ still lives; Christ, my Lord, and the Lord of all, blessed forever, amen!"

HOCHSTRATEN AND ECK.

Thus was Luther prepared for the storm that was gathering over him. It was not to be expected that he could attack with deadly blow the institutions of ages without exciting opposi-

tion and rage. There began to be clamorers for his death. Hochstraten, an irascible slave of monkish superstitions, exclaimed: "It is high treason against the Church to suffer so horrid a heretic to live an hour longer. Away with him at once to the scaffold!"

Such bloody counsel was followed in many places, and many martyrs bled; but the angel of the Lord encamped round about Luther, and he was preserved for the great work yet before him.

"Out upon thee," he replies to Hochstraten, "out upon thee, thou senseless murderer, thirsting for the blood of thy brethren! I sincerely desire that *thou* shouldst not call me Christian, and faithful; but that thou shouldst continue, on the contrary, to decry me as a heretic. Understand me, thou bloodthirsty man, enemy to the truth; and if thy rage prompt thee to attempt my life, take care to act circumspectly, and to choose thy time well. God knows what is my purpose if my life should be spared."

A more important adversary Luther found in his former friend, Dr. Eck, the celebrated professor of Ingolstadt, who privately wrote against the theses of the Reformer, yet without any design of publishing. Yet his attack was unduly dispersed by interested persons and

reached the eyes of Luther. He was sad at the reproaches and insults used by his opponent. Yet, while his heart was wounded, his courage was firm as ever, and he caught new fire for the dispute. Eck had given the name of *Obelisks* to his attack upon Luther, while the latter replied to him by his *Asterisks* or stars, "opposing," as he said, "the light and dazzling brightness of the stars of heaven to the rust and livid hue of the obelisks of the doctor of Ingolstadt."

Thus struggled the champion of God's word in the beginning of his career. Yet while obliged to engage in controversy with one and another, it was a greater delight with him to diffuse among the masses that sound religious knowledge that is so intimately connected with salvation. Let us pause to listen to a few specimens of this teaching.

GRAVE EXTRACTS.

LUTHER is writing on *prayer:* "When thou prayest," said he, "let thy words be few, but thy thoughts and feelings many and deep. The less thou speakest the better thy prayers. Few words and much thought, is a Christian frame. Many words and little thought is heathenish."

Let us listen for a moment as he descants upon the prayer of our Lord.

"*Our Father!* Of all names there is not one which more inclines us toward God than the name of *Father*. We should feel less love, and derive less consolation, from addressing him as *Lord*, or *God*, or *Judge*. By that word *Father*, his bowels of compassion are moved, for there is no sound more sweet or prevailing with a father than the voice of his child.

"*Who art in heaven.* Whoever professes that he has a Father *in heaven* acknowledges himself to be a stranger upon earth; hence, there is in his heart an ardent longing, like that of a child that is living among strangers in want and grief, afar from its Father-land.

"*Hallowed be thy name!* He who is passionate, abusive, envious, and slanderous, dishonors the name of God in which he has been baptized.

"*Thy kingdom come!* Those who amass property and build magnificent mansions, who strive after what the world can give, and utter this prayer with their lips, resemble those huge organ pipes which incessantly ring with all their power in the churches, without speech, feeling, or reason."

Again, he says: "One goes to Rome, another to St. James, a third builds a chapel, and a

fourth endows religious houses, in order to attain the kingdom of God; but all neglect the one thing needful, which is to become *themselves* his kingdom! Why seek the kingdom of God beyond the seas? It is in thy heart it should arise."

"*Give us this day our daily bread!* Why do we use the words 'our bread?' Because we do not pray for the common bread that heathens partake, and which God gives to all men, but for '*our*' bread, the bread of those who are the 'children' of the heavenly Father. And what then is this bread of God? It is Jesus Christ our Lord. 'I am the bread of life which came down from heaven, and giveth life to the world.' Therefore let no one be deluded. Whatever sermons and instructions do not exhibit and make known Jesus Christ, cannot be the daily bread and nourishment of souls. Therefore we must preach Christ alone."

"But," he continues, "what is it to know Christ? and what good will come of it? I answer, to learn and know Christ is to understand what the apostle declares, namely, that Christ is made unto us of God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." "To believe is nothing else than *feeding on this bread from heaven.*"

Writing elsewhere of the remission of sins, he

says: "They wish to do good before their sins are forgiven them, while it is indispensable that our sins be pardoned before good works can be done. It is not works that banish sin; but drive out sin, and you will have works. For good works must be done with a joyful heart and a good conscience toward God, that is with *remission of sins.*" "The remission of sin is out of the power of pope, bishop, or priest, or any man living; and rests solely on the word of Christ, and on their own faith. A pope or a bishop has no more power to remit sin than the humblest priest. And even without any priest, every Christian, even though a woman or a child, can do the same. For if a simple believer say to thee, 'God pardon thy sin in the name of Jesus Christ,' and thou receive that word with firm faith, and as though God himself spoke it to thee, thou art absolved."

"If thou dost not believe that thy sins are forgiven thee, thou makest thy God a liar, and showest thyself to hold more to thy vain thoughts than to God and his word."

"Under the Old Testament, neither priest, nor king, nor prophet, had authority to declare remission of sins. But under the New, every believer has this power. The Church is full of remission of sins! If a devoted Christian should comfort thy conscience by the word of the cross,

whether that Christian be a man or woman, young or old, receive that comfort with such faith as to endure death a hundred times, rather than doubt that God has ratified it. Repent; do all the works thou canst; but let *faith* in pardon, through Christ, hold the first rank, and command the whole field of your warfare."

These are great words and true, and "the common people heard him gladly;" and the theories of presumptuous priests melted away, and the Church was ransomed from the bondage of ages.

LUTHER AT HEIDELBERG.

In the spring of 1518 we find Luther at Heidelberg, at the chapter general of the Augustines. There were many fears for him as he undertook this journey; but he never shrank from what seemed to be his duty, through fear of danger.

Distinguished friends greeted him as he journeyed. Arriving at Wurtzburg, the Bishop of Bibra received him most cordially to the episcopal palace, and treated him with great consideration and affection. Arriving at Heidelberg, the Count Palatine Wolfgang received him very graciously in his magnificent castle, and often

invited him to his table during his sojourn, where, in company with a few select friends, he passed many pleasant hours.

But with all the attention received from high places, Luther would not be idle. The University of Heidelberg exerted an extensive influence in that part of Germany, and there it was that he would strike a blow for the truth that would be extensively felt.

Accordingly he prepared seven theses, which he proposed to maintain in a public discussion. Five doctors entered the lists against the theses The answers of Luther being short, but full of the word of God, are said to have astonished his hearers, and never did an assembly listen with greater attention to a theological discussion. Three brilliant young men especially were greatly interested and benefited by the words of the Reformer. These were Martin Bucer, John Brentz, and Ehrhard Snepf, and they had private interviews with Luther, with which they were greatly delighted. He explained to them what was obscure, and answered their various questions, while every word that he spoke to them, as saith the historian, added fresh light to their minds. A new world seemed to open before them.

"The disciple will speak when the teacher is silent." So did these excellent young men take

up the Gospel now at Heidelberg, and proclaimed the joyful sound when Luther had returned toward home. Crowds were drawn together to hear them, and thus the fire that had been kindled in Saxony was communicated to Heidelberg, and these courageous young men became burning and shining lights in the Church. "All of them attained to eminent stations, and took a conspicuous part in the transactions to which the Reformation gave birth."

Luther, as he contemplated the influence of the truth upon the youthful mind, was greatly comforted and delighted. "I have the glorious hope," he said, "that even as Christ, when rejected by the Jews, turned toward the Gentiles, so we shall see the rising generation receive the true theology, which these old men, wedded to their vain and most fantastical opinions, now obstinately reject." There is deep truth in these words. Ye that would work effectually in the Lord's vineyard, breathe your good influence specially upon the young, and bestow large efforts upon the work of molding them for Christ, and goodness, and heaven.

Luther returned in safety, and much invigorated by his journey. His friends welcomed him home, and rejoiced for all the happy success of his mission to Heidelberg.

OTHER EXTRACTS.

We must transcribe yet more of the precious words of truth as they fell, at this time, from the vigorous pen of Luther. There seems a certain freshness and beauty attached to his ideas and style of expression that are eminently attractive to the pious mind. Herein we are enabled to discern the workings of a soul waking up to heavenly illuminations amid the oppressive darkness and gloom that had for ages settled upon the world. It seems not merely a *revival*, but a resurrection from the confusion and dust of the grave.

Luther has just returned from Heidelberg. The truth is evidently growing within him, and his spirit is moved within him, and he is contemplating a loftier flight than before, and proposes to approach Rome itself, and preach the evangelical doctrine at the footstool of the pope.

Hence he prepares his *Solutions*, which were simply explanations of the *theses* which he had already published and discussed.

Of *Repentance*, he writes that it signifies "to put on a new spirit, a new mind; the taking to us a new nature, so that, ceasing to be earthly,

we may become heavenly. Christ is a teacher of the spirit and not of the letter, and his words are spirit and life."

These wholesome words were uttered in opposition to the useless penances of popery, which the haughtiest sinner may perform without any real humiliation. And how forcible are such words as follow against the need of indulgences? "It is impossible for a man to be a Christian without having Christ; and if he has Christ, he has at the same time all that is in Christ. What gives peace to the conscience is that by faith our sins are no more ours but Christ's, upon whom God hath laid them all; and that, on the other hand, all Christ's righteousness is ours, to whom God hath given it. Christ lays his hand upon us, and we are healed. He casts his mantle upon us, and we are clothed; for he is the glorious Saviour, blessed forever."

And Luther reaches this great conclusion: "I will speak out, in a few words and boldly. The Church requires to be reformed; and it is a work neither for one man as the pope, nor for several as the cardinals and fathers in council assembled, but for the whole world; or rather, it is a work which appertains to God alone. As to the time when such reformation shall commence, He only knows it who has appointed all time. The barriers are thrown

down, and it is no longer in our power to restrain the overflowing billows."

Yet all this time Luther is at a long distance from pride or ostentation. He evidently reckons himself the least of all. To his bishop—the Bishop of Brandenburg—he dispatched the above testimony concerning the Church, accompanied with such words as these: "Deign to accept these offerings that I present to you, most clement bishop. And that all may see that I am not acting presumptuously, I entreat your reverence to take pen and ink and blot out, or even throw into the fire whatever may displease you. I know that Christ needs none of my labors or services, and that he can easily, without my instrumentality, make known the good tidings in his Church. Not that the denunciations and threats of my enemies alarm me. Quite the contrary. If they were not so wanting in prudence, and lost to shame, no one should hear or know anything about me. I would immure myself in a corner, and there study alone for my own profit. If this matter is not of God, it will certainly not be to my honor, nor to the honor of any man, but will come to naught. May glory and honor be to Him to whom they belong!"

ROME AROUSED.

Cardinal Raphael, in the pope's name, wrote to the Elector Frederic, with a view to influence him to withdraw his protection from Luther, and intimating suspicion of the elector's fidelity to the Church. He replies, that Luther uniformly expressed a willingness to defend before appropriate judges his doctrine, and submit to their decision, if they should be able by the Scriptures to convince him of error.

But an arrangement of this sort was not at all to the taste of the myrmidons of Rome, who chose to employ very different weapons than the word of God for putting down those whom they considered as heretics.

Meanwhile Luther receives a summons to Rome, to answer, at the papal tribunal, to the charge of heresy. Sylvester Prierias, his great enemy, is there, to be at once his accuser and judge.

This was a startling summons, and filled the numerous friends of Luther with alarm and consternation. "Shall the preacher of the truth go and risk his life in that great city, drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus? Shall every man who ventures to

lift his head amid the enslaved nations of Christendom be on that account struck down?" Thus murmured the friends of Luther, and these were many:

"The voice of this man had been heard by the whole German nation. From his sermons and writings issued beams of light which awakened and illumined his cotemporaries. The energy of his faith rushed like a stream of fire upon the frozen hearts of men. The life which God had given to this extraordinary mind was imparted to the dead body of the Church. Christendom, which had remained motionless for so many years, was now alive with religious enthusiasm. The popular attachment to the superstitions of Romanism was daily lessening; those who came with money in hand to purchase pardon were every day fewer; and the reputation of Luther was every day extended. Men's thoughts were directed toward him, and he was hailed, with affection and respect, as the intrepid defender of truth and freedom."

But not only was there throughout Germany a strong sympathy with the Reformer in his brave and mighty attacks upon the papal superstitions, but with multitudes there was something deeper and more momentous. A great spiritual work was in progress. "The word of God, which he handled with so much power,

penetrated to the souls of men like a two-edged sword. In many hearts an ardent desire was kindled to obtain the assurance of pardon and everlasting life.

Since the first ages of the Church there had not been witnessed such hungering and thirsting after righteousness. If the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and of Bernard, had induced multitudes, during the Middle Ages, to assume outwardly the symbol of the cross, the preaching of Luther influenced the hearts of men to take up the true cross, the truth that saves the soul. The superstructure which then encumbered the Church had smothered true piety; the form had extinguished the spirit. The word of power given to Luther was as a breath of life to Christendom."

Thus was Christendom divided into two opposing parties; the one contending for the spirit against form, and the other for form against spirit; and "the simple word of truth had called forth a host in favor of Luther."

Neither in the mind of Luther nor any of his friends was there any hope of any justice being done him at Rome. There was no safety for him on his journey, and no safety after his arrival. Hence it was their unanimous sentiment and wish that he should receive his examination in Germany.

It was finally so arranged; and the pope's legate, De Vio, already in Germany on other business, was commissioned to investigate the case. "We charge you," said the pope, "to compel the aforesaid Luther to appear before you in person; to prosecute and reduce him to submission without delay, as soon as you shall have received this our order; he having already been declared a heretic by our dear brother Jerome, Bishop of Asculan."

"If he should return to a sense of his duty, and ask pardon for so great an offense, freely and of his own accord, we give you power to receive him into the unity of holy mother Church."

"If he should persist in his subbornness, and you fail to get possession of his person, we give you power to proscribe him in all places in Germany; to put away, curse, and excommunicate all those who are attached to him, and to enjoin all Christians to shun their society."

The pope proposes still greater extremities, and calls upon his legate, in order entirely to root out the pestilential heresy, to excommunicate all, of whatever dignity in Church or state, except the emperor, who shall "neglect to seize the said Martin Luther and his adherents, and send them to you, under proper and safe authority."

Here will be noticed the amount of justice and impartiality of Rome, who thus declared Luther a heretic before his examination!

"Is this the style and manner of the Roman court," exclaims Luther, in his just indignation, "that in the same day she summons, exhorts, accuses, judges, condemns, and declares guilty; and this, too, in the case of one who is at such a distance from Rome, and who can have no knowledge of what is going on? What answer can they make to all this? They certainly forgot to clear their brains with hellebore before they had recourse to such clumsy artifice."

LUTHER AND CAJETAN.

Luther went to Augsburg. There were many and serious apprehensions in his behalf. Threats had been liberally thrown out that he should be waylaid and killed; and not a few deeply interested friends begged of him not to venture. Among others, Staupitz writes him from the convent of Salsburg, begging him to come and take refuge with him. "It seems to me," he said, "that the whole world is up in arms, and combined against the truth. Even so was the crucified Jesus hated! I see not that you have anything else to expect than per-

secution. Your most prudent course is to leave Wittenberg for a time, and come and reside with me. Then let us live and die together."

But Luther is not the man to listen to counsel of this sort. "He will continue faithfully on that stormy stage where the hand of God has placed him. It is by perseverance in the midst of opposers, by loudly proclaiming the truth in the midst of the world, that the kingdom of the truth is advanced."

As for Luther, these are his words at this solemn juncture: "I am like Jeremiah, 'a man of strife and contention;' but the more they increase their threatenings, the more they multiply my joy. My wife and children are well provided for. My lands and houses, and all my goods, are safe. They have already torn to pieces my honor and my good name. All I have left is my wretched body; let them have it; they will then shorten my life by a few hours. But as to my soul, they shall not have that. He who resolves to bear the word of Christ to the world, must expect death at every hour; for our spouse is a bloody husband unto us."

Immediately on his arrival at Augsburg, Luther announced to the legate, Cajetan, that he was in the city. The legate rejoiced, and secretly determined, that having the hot-headed

heretic in his power, he should not leave Augsburg as he entered it. The good Staupitz was also there, and he too was promptly notified of Luther's arrival.

Urban de Serra Longa, an Italian courtier and the legate's attendant, was a man of artful address. In his vanity he supposed it would be an easy matter to bring Luther to terms. He accordingly visits him at the convent of the Augustines. With many professions of affection, he proposes to Luther to make his peace with the Church, and submit to the cardinal. He cautions him against presuming to stand upon his defense, or to enter the lists with the legate. He instructs him as to the etiquette he must observe on coming into the presence of the legate, and endeavors to persuade Luther to accompany him immediately. Luther, however, declined visiting the legate without a safe-conduct.

Serra Longa loses his temper at these words, and asks, "When all forsake you, where will you take refuge?" "Under Heaven!" said Luther looking upward. After some further conversation, the courtier retired, vexed at his want of success.

Luther shortly received his safe-conduct, and prepared to appear before the legate. The latter, apprised of this, conferred with his friends in

respect to the manner of treating the Reformer.

"We must compel him to retract," said one.

"We must arrest and imprison him," said another.

"We would better put him out of the way," said a third.

"Let us rather win him over by gentleness and kindness," replied a fourth.

The last mentioned seems, at first, to have impressed the legate most favorably.

FIRST CONFERENCE.

At length Luther, accompanied by several friends, makes his appearance before the legate. His reception was cool, but civil; and after the ceremonies of introduction, he stood erect before the cardinal. The latter was silent, expecting Luther would commence his recantation. But Luther waited as if for further orders; but at length addresed the legate as follows: "Most worthy father, upon the summons of his holiness the pope, and at the desire of my gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, I appear before you, as an humble and obedient son of the holy Christian Church; and acknowledge that it was I who published the propositions and theses that are the subject of inquiry. I am ready to listen

with all submission to the charges brought against me, and if I am in error to be instructed in the truth."

The cardinal, with an air of kindness, commends Luther's humility, and proceeds to tell him what he must do. "First, you must return to your duty; you must acknowledge your faults, and retract your errors, your propositions, and sermons.

"Secondly, you must promise to abstain, for the future, from propagating your opinions. And thirdly, you must engage to be more discreet, and avoid everything that may grieve or disturb the Church."

Luther now asks to see the credentials of the cardinal, showing his authority to settle this affair.

The attendants of the cardinal were astonished at this demand, and at the boldness of such a speech.

"Your command, my son," said Cajetan, "cannot be complied with. You have to acknowledge your errors, and be careful for the future what you teach; and then, on the authority of the pope, I will adjust the whole matter."

"Deign, then," said Luther, "to inform me where I have erred."

The attendants were still more astonished. But the cardinal, in an assumed tone of con-

descension, said: "My beloved son, there are two propositions put forward by you which you must, before all, retract. 1. The treasure of indulgences does not consist of the merits and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2. The man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace offered to him."

Both of these propositions were in fact fatal to the wicked commerce of Rome, and entirely overturned the tables of the money-changers, and drove the dealers out of the temple. Cajetan, while he promised to rest entirely on the Scriptures, applied to the constitution of the pope in favor of indulgences.

Luther. "I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proofs on subjects so important; for they wrest the Holy Scriptures, and never quote them to the purpose."

De Vio. "The pope has authority and power over all things."

Luther, (warmly.) "Save the Scriptures."

De Vio, (in derision.) "Save the Scriptures! Do not you know that the pope is higher than the councils; for he has recently condemned and punished the Council of Bale?"

Luther. "But the University of Paris has appealed against his decision."

De Vio. "Those gentlemen of Paris will receive their desert."

Proceeding to the second article, that concerning the necessity of *faith* in order to grace, Luther affirmed that his yielding that point would be denying Christ. "I cannot, therefore, and I will not yield that point, and, by God's help, I will hold it to the end."

Cajetan begins to lose his temper, and replies: "Whether you will or will not, you must, this very day, retract that article, or else, for that article alone, I will proceed to reject and condemn all your doctrine."

Luther responds: "I have no will but the Lord's. He will do with me what seemeth good in his sight. But had I a hundred heads, I would rather lose them all than retract the testimony I have borne to the holy Christian faith."

Then said Cajetan: "I am not come here to argue with you. Retract, or prepare to endure the punishment you have deserved." Thus ended the first conference.

SUCCEEDING CONFERENCES.

The second conference, on the day following, was attended by many persons of high dignity, and was equally unsuccessful.

Luther read a declaration, setting forth his regard for the Church, his desire for the truth, his

readiness to answer all objections to what he had taught, and submit to the decision of the universities which he named. At the same time he protested against the method which had been pursued to oblige him to retract without having convicted him of error.

Still with Cajetan it was "Recant—recant!" and he overwhelmed Luther with a perpetual shower of words, so that the latter could find no opportunity for reply.

Luther, therefore, craved permission, which was very reluctantly granted him, to present, *in writing*, his answer to the two allegations above named; the one touching indulgences, the other respecting faith.

On the third interview Luther submitted his answer. "What most disturbs me," he says in this answer, "and excites my most painful reflections, is, that this constitution contains in it many things altogether contrary to the truth. First, it asserts that the *merits* of the saints form a treasury; while the whole volume of Scripture testifies that God rewards us far more richly than we have deserved. Thus, then," he continues, "the saints are not saved by their merits, but solely by the mercy of God, as I have declared. I maintain this, and I take my stand upon it.

"The words of Holy Scripture, which teach

us that the saints have not *merit enough*, ought to be more regarded than those words of men which affirm that they have *merits in superabundance*. For the pope is not above, but under the authority of the word of God."

He then shows that if the indulgences could not consist in the merits of the saints, neither could they consist in the merits of Christ. "The righteousness of Christ Jesus," he exclaimed, "is not a treasure of indulgences, excusing us from good works, but a treasure of grace, *quickening* us to perform them. The righteousness of Christ is applied to the faithful, not by indulgences, not by the keys, but by the Holy Ghost alone, and not by the pope."

"I have affirmed," continued Luther, referring to the charge respecting faith, "that no man can be justified before God except by faith; so that it is necessary that a man should believe with a perfect confidence that he has received pardon. To doubt of this grace is to reject it. The faith of the just is his righteousness and his life."

But all seemed to avail but little. The legate treated the manifesto of Luther with little short of contempt. He scolded and thundered on without intermission, leaving, as before, no opportunity for reply.

Presenting the constitution of the pope, he

demanded of Luther to retract. "Well," said Luther, "only prove to me by this constitution, that the treasure of indulgences is the *very merit* of Christ, and I consent to retract, according to the will and pleasure of your eminence."

All were startled at this offer, as the constitution was the only authority adduced by the legate. He and his attendants were almost beside themselves for joy, while the friends of Luther were anxious and embarrassed. But their fears were groundless. Luther met the legate on his own favorite ground, and triumphed completely, and the cardinal felt that the reasoning of his opponent was unanswerable. In a rage he exclaims: "Retract, or I will send you to Rome, there to appear before the judges commissioned to take cognizance of your cause. I will excommunicate you and all your partisans, and all who shall, at any time, countenance you, and will cast them out of the Church. Full power has been given to me for this purpose by the holy apostolic see. Think you that your protectors will stop me? Do you imagine that the pope can fear Germany? The pope's little finger is stronger than all the princes of Germany put together."

"Condescend," replied Luther, "to forward the written answer I have given you to Pope Leo X., with my most humble prayers."

In a haughty and angry tone the cardinal replied, "Retract, or return no more."

Luther bowed, and retired with his friends, "and the cardinal and his Italians, left alone, looked at each other, utterly confounded at such a result of the discussion."

The Reformer and the cardinal never met again; yet it is said that Luther made a powerful impression upon Cajetan, and that the judge who had so repeatedly and haughtily commanded Luther to retract, subsequently changed his own views, and himself indirectly retracted his errors.

The Reformer was rewarded.

LUTHER'S RETURN.

Luther returned to the monastery. "He had stood firm, he had borne witness to the truth, he had done what it was his duty to do. God would do the rest. His heart overflowed with joy and peace."

Luther met the legate no more. Yet he did not at once leave Augsburg. There were other conferences with Cajetan on the part of one or two of Luther's friends. But it was concession or nothing, and Luther was not the man to retract without being convinced, and after a few

days he left the city on his return to Wittenberg.

Before his departure he drew up a respectful letter to the legate, specifying that he had sufficiently proved his obedience, having undertaken a long journey at the command of the pope; that he had undertaken this journey in the midst of dangers; in great weakness of body, and in much poverty. He had personally appeared before his eminence, the legate, and answered for himself, and had left nothing undone becoming to an obedient son of the Church. He then adds: "It is my intention, therefore, not uselessly to prolong my stay here; it is indeed impossible I should do so, as I want the means; and you have positively forbidden my again appearing before you unless I would retract.

"Thus I again set out in the name of the Lord, desiring, if possible, to find some place where I may live in peace." He closes by saying that he had committed no crime, and that he ought therefore to have nothing to fear.

He departed at night on horseback, accompanied by a guide furnished him by the magistrate of the city. They arrive at the little gate, and pass through. Now they are beyond the limits; and putting their horses to a full gallop, they soon leave the city far behind them.

The cardinal heard of Luther's departure with surprise and vexation. Thus all negotiations were abruptly terminated, all his hopes were disconcerted, and all his ambition for the honor of healing the wounds of the Church was doomed to disappointment. "The conference had served only to exhibit in a strong light, on the one hand, the simplicity, uprightness, and firmness of Luther; and, on the other, the imperious and unreasonable procedure of the pope and his representative. Inasmuch as Rome had gained nothing, she had lost; and her authority, not having been re-enforced, had in reality sustained a fresh check."

It is said that the legate could hardly conceal his vexation, and he speedily gave vent to his anger in a letter to the elector.

Meanwhile Luther was journeying homeward swiftly, and full of joy and peace. As he breathed the open air of the country, and traversed the plains and villages, he felt himself wonderfully delivered by the arm of the Lord, so that his song might well have been: "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are delivered?"

It is said that everywhere on his journey he was an object of interest. "He was returning without having given up anything. Such a vic-

tory, gained by a mendicant friar over the representatives of Rome, filled every heart with astonishment. God's word had obtained more honor than the word of the pope. The power which had for ages borne rule had just received a formidable check. The journey of Luther was a triumph."

LETTERS.

LUTHER arrived at Wittenberg to the great joy of his friends, and the letter of Cajetan to the elector followed him in hot haste.

"Since," he writes, "Brother Martin cannot be brought by paternal measures to acknowledge his error, and to continue faithful to the Catholic Church, I request your highness to send him to Rome, or to banish him from your territories. Be assured that this complicated, evil-intentioned, and mischievous affair cannot be long protracted; for as soon as I shall have informed our most holy lord of all this artifice and malice, he will bring it to a speedy end;" and in a postscript he begs of the Elector, "not to tarnish with shame his own honor, and that of his illustrious ancestors, for the cause of a contemptible monk."

The elector sends Luther a copy of this letter,

the reading of which arouses his indignation. He replies to the elector, presents, in his turn, an account of the conference at Augsburg, and writes: "Let the reverend legate, or the pope himself, specify any errors in writing; let them bring forward their reasons; let them instruct me, who desire to be instructed, who ask to be so, who intend what I say, and long for instruction, so that even a Turk would not refuse to satisfy me. If I do not retract and condemn myself, when they have proved to me that the passages of Scripture that I have quoted ought to be considered in a different sense from that in which I have understood them; then, O most excellent elector! let your highness be the first to prosecute and expel me, let the university reject me, and overwhelm me with indignation. I will go further, and I call heaven and earth to witness, let the Lord Jesus Christ himself reject and condemn me! These are not words of vain presumption, but of firm conviction.

"Let the Lord deprive me of his grace, and every creature of God refuse to countenance me, if, when I have been shown a better doctrine, I do not embrace it."

Thus wrote this great man, with many other words of a kindred character, and closing he says: "I am still, thanks to God, full of joy, and praise him that Christ, the Son of God, counts

me worthy to suffer in so holy a cause. May he forever preserve your illustrious highness. Amen!"

The elector, it is said, was deeply impressed with this eloquent letter, and if he had ever entertained a thought of giving up an innocent man to the power of Rome, he was now resolved not even in appearance to yield in any way to the threats of the legate. Some days after, he wrote that dignitary as follows: "Since Doctor Martin has appeared before you at Augsburg, you ought to be satisfied. We did not expect that, without convincing him of error, you would claim to oblige him to retract. Not one of the learned men in our states has intimated to us an opinion that Martin's doctrine is impious, antichristian, or heretical;" and in the last part of his epistle he declines sending Luther to Rome, or expelling him from his territories.

Luther saw this letter, and exclaimed to Spalatin: "Gracious God! with what joy I read and re-read it: for I know what confidence I may repose in these words, at once so forcible and so discreet."

The truth was, that the good Frederic had his eyes open. He saw the great popularity of Luther as a professor in the university. All his associates there, in a letter to the elector, declared warmly in his favor. Crowds of students

flocked thither from all parts of Germany, anxious to listen to this extraordinary man. And it is said that young men, in their enthusiasm on coming in sight, for the first time, of the steeples of Wittenberg, would stop, and raising their hands toward heaven, "praise God for having caused the light of truth to shine forth from Wittenberg, as in former ages from Mount Zion, that it might penetrate to the most distant lands."

CLOUDS AND SUNSHINE.

But clouds and uncertainty lay before Luther. He knew not how soon he might be driven away from Germany, and he was in daily expectation of having poured upon his head the maledictions of Rome.

He accordingly prepared himself diligently for the coming storm. He drew up and published a full report of the conference at Augsburg, to be preserved as a memorial of the struggle between Rome and himself. "Having tucked up my gown," said he, "and girded my loins, I am ready to depart, like Abraham, not knowing whither I go; or rather, well knowing whither, since God is everywhere."

Full of fears on his account, his friends entreated him to deliver himself up a prisoner to the

elector, so that the prince might keep him somewhere in safety.

But Luther was thinking of departure, not through fear of danger, but that he might be more at liberty to speak and write many things, and pour forth his whole heart.

Hence, while preaching in the church of Wittenberg, as he often did, he said, one day: "I am a very unstable preacher, and very uncertain in my position. How often have I left you suddenly without taking leave of you! If this should happen again, and I should never return, receive my last farewell." "Finally, I warn you not to be terrified if the papal censures fall upon me in all their fury. Do not blame the pope, nor bear any ill-will to him, or to any man living; but leave the whole matter to God."

At length the prince, whose wishes were always sacred with Luther, gives him to understand his wish that he would leave Wittenberg. He prepares to depart, and invites his friends to a farewell repast. In the midst of the feast, a letter comes from the prince, inclosing an order for his departure, and asking why he delayed so long? For a moment, his soul was overwhelmed with dejection. Then rallying presently, he said to the company, "Father and mother forsake me, but the Lord will take me up."

His friends were deeply affected. "What will become of him?" said they. "If Luther's protector rejects him, who will receive him; and what will become of the great work he has taken in hand?"

Presently a second messenger arrives, with another dispatch for Luther. He opens it with trembling, expecting to find repeated the order for his departure. He reads: "As the pope's new envoy hopes that everything may be settled by a conference, remain for the present."

A great change indeed! "How important," saith the historian, "was this hour! and what might have happened if Luther, ever anxious to obey the prince's pleasure, had left Wittenberg immediately on the receipt of the first letter! Never had Luther and the cause of the Reformation been brought lower than at this moment. It might have been thought that their fate was decided; in an instant it was changed. Having reached the lowest step in his career, the Reformer rapidly arose, and from that time his influence continued to ascend. 'At the word of the Lord,' in the language of the prophet, 'his servants go down to the depths, and mount up again to heaven.'"

Meanwhile the excitement is becoming more general, and Christendom seems to be waking from long slumber. The ill success of Cajetan

at Augsburg is very unsatisfactory at Rome. He is reproached for his want of prudence and address, for the strictness of his theology, on so important an occasion. "The failure," said his accusers, "is entirely owing to him. His awkward pedantry has spoiled all. Why did he provoke Luther by insults and threats, instead of alluring him by the promise of a bishopric, or even, if necessary, a cardinal's hat?"

But the case is pressing, and Rome must arouse herself. The pope caused to be published in Germany a bull, confirming the doctrine of indulgences in those exact points which had been questioned; but, at the same time, making no mention of Luther or the elector. This was an act of impolicy: "By legalizing the most flagrant abuses it irritated all sensible men, and rendered impossible the return of Luther to his allegiance to the Church."

Meanwhile Luther foresaw the storm about to burst upon him, and in the fear of God, who he knew could alone avert it, he drew up an appeal from the pope to a general council of the Church.

"Behold, then, the Reformation launched upon a new career! It is no longer to depend upon the pope and his decrees, but upon a general council. Luther speaks to the Church at large, and the voice which proceeds from the

chapel of Corpus Christi is to make itself heard in all the gatherings of the Lord's flock. It is not in courage that the Reformer is wanting: behold him giving new proof of it. Will God be wanting to him? The answer will be read in the different phases of the Reformation which are still to pass before us."

LUTHER AND MILTITZ.

It was a critical moment. The Elector Frederic was upon the point of banishing Luther from his states; yet the pope seemed not quite ready to proceed to extremities, he probably imagining the elector more favorable to the Reformer than he really was.

Charles Miltitz, chamberlain to the pope, a German, and of insinuating manners, and great skill in negotiation, came to Germany with a view to further efforts of a conciliatory character. On his journey he sounds the public opinion in respect to the great dispute. To his astonishment, he finds the majority favorable to the Reformation, and he everywhere hears Luther spoken of with enthusiasm.

The arrival of Miltitz spreads suspicion and alarm throughout Saxony. It is whispered that he has secret orders to get possession of Luther.

"He is sent," his friends say, "to seize and deliver you to the pope."

"I await the will of God," responds Luther.

His friends were not mistaken: the securing of Luther, and his conveyance to Rome, were the objects of this new mission. But a great and unforeseen event comes in here for the deliverance of Luther, and to change the aspect of Christendom.

Miltitz reached Saxony, December, 1518. On the 12th of the following month died Maximilian the Emperor of Germany. This providence made the Elector Frederic, according to the German constitution, the administrator of the empire, and relieved him from all fears of Rome or its emissaries.

Meanwhile the interest felt by the pope in the election of a new emperor diverted his mind, for the present, from religious controversy, and, together with political troubles growing out of the emperor's demise, averted the storm impending over the Reformation. "The tempest was hushed," said Luther; "the papal excommunication began to be thought light of:" and, under the shelter of the elector, the Gospel is said to have spread itself abroad, and produced no small danger to the cause of the papacy.

Meanwhile Miltitz, on his arrival in Saxony, learns with great astonishment the abominations

connected with Tetzel, and his traffic in indulgences; and, in his great wrath, at once summons Tetzel to appear before him at Altenburg. Though only a few miles off at Leipsic, he refuses to obey the order.

"Martin Luther," he says, "has so roused and excited powerful chiefs against me that I am nowhere safe."

Such is the difference between the servant of God and the servant of men! Luther, as we have seen, when summoned faced danger as a brave man. Tetzel betrayed a contemptible cowardice.

Presently Miltitz seeks an interview with Luther, and salutes him with the greatest show of affection and friendship, though he had come all the way from Rome for the purpose of dragging him back with him in chains. The nuncio aimed by flattery to entice Luther to submission, retractation, and silence. Luther, with calm energy and earnestness, enumerates the just complaints against the Church, yet offers to be silent provided his enemies are silenced; and expresses himself as willing to do everything, and bear everthing; "but as to a retractation," said he, "do not expect it from me."

An agreement, however, was entered into enjoining silence on both sides for the present; also that the pope should commission a bishop

to investigate the case, point out the errors of Luther, which he was to retract if proved to be errors, and never more to do anything to lessen the honor or authority of Rome.

Great was the joy of Miltitz at this agreement, who seemed not to have discernment sufficient to see that it amounted to just nothing at all. Yet he boasted as one having found great spoil; invited Luther to supper, flattered him to the utmost, and at parting saluted the heretic doctor with a kiss. "A Judas kiss," said Luther.

Afterward Miltitz repairs to Leipsic, cites Tetzel before him, overwhelms him with reproaches, accuses him with being the cause of all the evil that had arisen, besides convicting him of gross fraud in appropriating large sums of the Church's money to his own use. It was too much for poor Tetzel. He shrunk despairingly, his health gave way, his conscience tormented him, his friends reproached him, and he shortly afterward died miserably.

A BRIEF RESPITE.

Thus there was a hush for a little—a momentary pause amid the tumult of the nations.

Meanwhile Luther was studious, and grew in knowledge and in faith, and was, unconsciously

to himself, preparing for greater conflicts soon to ensue.

He is, as yet, but partially converted from the errors of Rome. But as he studies he makes discoveries. "I am reading," he writes to Spalatin, "the *decretals* of the popes, and let me whisper in your ear that I know not whether the pope is antichrist himself, or whether he is his apostle, so misrepresented and even crucified does Christ appear in them."

Still Luther, up to this time, esteemed the Roman Church, and had no thought of separation from it. "On the contrary," he said, "the worse things are going, the more should we hold close to it; for it is not by separation from it that we can make it better."

At the same time the reputation of Luther seemed to be constantly advancing. The cause of truth gained ground, the number of students at Wittenberg increased, while among them were found the most distinguished youth of Germany. "Our city," writes Luther, "can scarcely hold the numbers who are arriving, and they increase upon us like an overflowing tide."

And now the voice of the Reformer was no longer confined to Germany. His writings and his doctrine, passing the frontiers of the empire, began to shake the foundations of the Roman power among the several nations of Christen-

dom. The leaven spreads to Bale and in the Low Countries. Luther's writings—multitudes of copies—find their way into France and Spain, and are read there with approbation. In England they were received with still greater eagerness. We also hear of them in Belgium and Italy, and Luther is informed by various letters of the joy which his writings are diffusing in distant countries, and among thousands who had never seen his face in the flesh.

Such was the little sunny interval just now enjoyed by Luther, and his friends entreated him to give over any further contest.

"But," observed Luther, "men were forming vain schemes, for the Lord had arisen to judge the nations." While friends solicit him to be quiet, he exclaims: "God does not conduct, but drives me forward. I am not master of my own actions. I would gladly live in peace; but I am cast into the midst of tumult and changes."

LUTHER AND DR. ECK.

The storm recommences with the scholastic Dr. Eck. This man was a great papist, a stranger to genuine religion, a lover of vainglory, full of self-confidence, and boastful of his learning, logical acuteness, and prowess in ar-

gument. He gloried in having won prizes on the field of disputation in eight universities. Eck was jealous of the wide-spread reputation of Luther, and he resolved to humble him.

Dr. Eck published thirteen theses, the last of which asserted that the primacy of Rome descended from the apostles, and that the pope was the successor of St. Peter.

Thus he threw down the gauntlet, and thus the brief truce was broken by Rome herself. "God knows," writes Luther to the Elector Frederic, "that it was my fixed purpose to keep silence, and that I was rejoiced to see the struggle brought to a close. But now Dr. Eck attacks me, and not me only, but the whole University of Wittenberg. I cannot allow truth to be thus loaded with opprobrium."

In opposition to the theses of Eck, Luther also proposes several, of which the concluding one was thus expressed:

"It is by contemptible decretals of Roman pontiffs, composed hardly four centuries ago, that it is attempted to prove the primacy of the Roman Church; but arrayed against this claim are eleven centuries of credible history, the express declarations of Scripture, and the conclusions of the Council of Nice, the most venerable of all the councils."

Thus were these two champions pitted against

each other, and that, too, on a vital dogma of popery.

When all was ready Luther addressed tauntingly his adversary, exclaiming: "Now, then, dear Eck, take courage; gird on thy sword. If I could not please thee when thou camest as a *go-between*, perhaps I may better satisfy thee as an antagonist. Not that I, of course, can expect to overcome thee; but that after all thy triumphs in Hungary, Lombardy, Bavaria, (if we are to believe thine own report,) I shall be giving thee the opportunity of earning the name of conqueror of Saxony and Misnia! so that thou shalt ever after be hailed with the glorious epithet of *august*."

Thus Luther was, as usual, full of hope and courage. Yet there were some of his friends who felt misgivings; for no one had hitherto been able to resist the sophistry of Eck. Then the subject of dispute was so grave and alarming! The pope's primacy! How can the poor monk of Wittenberg dare to stand up against the giant who for ages has crushed all his enemies? It is said that the courtiers of the elector were alarmed, and Spalatin, the friend of Luther, was filled with apprehensions, while the elector himself was ill at ease. Luther alone was unmoved. "The Lord," said he, "will deliver him into my *hand*. I beseech you, my dear Spalatin, do not

give way to fear. You well know that if Christ had not been on our side, what I have already done must have been my ruin."

THE PRELIMINARIES.

Leipsic was the seat of the contest, and Dr. Eck was the first to arrive. "He was received with great honors. Attired in priestly garments, at the head of a numerous procession, he passed through the streets of the city on *Corpus Christi* day. All crowded to see him. 'The whole population was in my favor,' said he, in speaking of it; 'nevertheless,' he continues, 'a rumor was spread abroad in the city that I should be defeated in the encounter.'"

Three days after Luther and his company arrived. Carlstadt, who was to commence the debate with Eck, rode alone in advance of the rest. Luther followed, having at his side Melancthon and Duke Barnim, then studying at Wittenberg. Several doctors of law, masters of arts, licentiates in theology, and other ecclesiastics followed. A large body of students from Wittenberg, as many as two hundred, and armed with pikes and halberds, attended the doctors in their route, being resolved to defend them, and proud of their cause.

Great interest was felt in the discussion. Duke George was present, accompanied by all his court. He had caused to be fitted up for the occasion a large hall in his palace, with two elevated pulpits opposite each other for the disputants. And there were tables for the notaries employed to take notes of the discussion, and benches for the audience. The pulpits and benches were hung with rich tapestry, and everything announced the high importance attached to the dispute.

After some difficulty in settling the preliminaries and order of proceeding, a solemn mass was performed, and the procession walked in great array to the castle.

"In front walked Duke George and the Duke of Pomerania; then came counts, barons, knights, and other persons of rank; and lastly, the doctors of both sides. A guard, consisting of seventy-three citizens, armed with halberds, accompanied their march, with banners flying, and martial music, halting at the castle gates."

All being seated, Mosellanus, by order of the duke, ascends the pulpit and holds forth to the disputants in these words: "If you fall to quarreling, what difference will remain between a theologian in discussion and a shameless duelist? In this question, what is victory, but the recovery of a brother from error? It seems as

if each of you should be more desirous to be so conquered than to conquer!" A wholesome preliminary, but it affects our ears curiously.

The address being finished, then swells the music through the spacious halls of the palace, the great assembly fall upon their knees, and the hymn of invocation is chanted. It was a moment of intensest interest. "The time-honored bond of one communion still bound together all these different minds; the same prayer still proceeded from all these lips, as if *one heart* pronounced it. These were the last moments of outward and lifeless unity; a new oneness of the spirit and of life was commencing. The Holy Spirit was invoked upon the Church, and was preparing to answer in the revival of Christianity."

THE PORTRAITS.

The chanting and prayer being ended, all rose from their knees, and the discussion was about to commence. An impartial witness of the encounter gives the portraits of the two champions thus:

"Martin Luther is of middle size; and so thin, by reason of his continual studies, that one can almost count his bones. He is in the prime of

life, and his voice is clear and sonorous. His knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures are incomparable; the whole word of God is at his fingers' ends. Added to this, he has vast resources of argument and ideas. One might perhaps desire somewhat more judgment to arrange everything in its right order. In conversation he is agreeable and obliging, and in no respect stoical or proud; he accommodates himself to every one; his manner of speaking is pleasing, and full of joviality; he evinces much firmness, and has ever a contented expression of countenance, whatever may be the threats of his adversaries, so that one is constrained to believe that it is not without Divine assistance that he does such great things. He is blamed, however, for being more severe in his reproofs than is becoming in a divine, especially when advancing novelties in religion."

"Dr. Eck is tall and broad shouldered; his voice is strong and truly German. He has good lungs, so that he would be well heard in a theater, and would even make a capital town-crier. His articulation is rather thick than clear. He has none of the grace so much commended by Fabius and Cicero. His mouth, eyes, and whole countenance give you the idea rather of a soldier, or a butcher, than of a divine. His mem-

ory is wonderful, and if his understanding were equal to it, he would be a truly perfect man. But his comprehension is slow, and he wants that judgment without which all other gifts are useless. Hence, in disputing, he produces a mass of passages from the Bible, citations from the fathers, and different kinds of proof, without careful selection or discernment. Add to this, his effrontery is almost inconceivable. If he is embarrassed he breaks off from the subject in hand, plunges into another, sometimes even takes up the opinion of his antagonist under a different form of expression, and with wonderful address attributes to his opponent the very absurdity he himself was defending."

The discussion commenced between Eck and Carlstadt. During this discussion Luther and Melancthon sat together. Luther was a head taller than Melancthon, and they went in and out together, and seemed bound to each other in the closest friendship. They report Melancthon, as he appeared on this occasion, to have been, "small of stature, and appearing not more than eighteen years of age. But in understanding, learning, and talent, he is a giant; and one wonders how such heights of wisdom and genius can be contained within so slight a frame."

At times during the discussion Melancthon would come to the assistance of Carlstadt.

"Whenever the latter was near giving way under the declamation of the chancellor of Ingolstadt, the young professor would whisper a word, or hand him a slip of paper whereon he had noted down a reply. Eck, having on one occasion perceived this, and indignant that the grammarian, as he termed him, should dare to meddle in the discussion, turned round and said insolently: "Be silent, Philip, mind your studies, and do not stand in my way." Eck may, perhaps, have even then foreseen how formidable an opponent he would, one day, find in this youth. Luther was roused by this rude insult directed against his friend. "The judgment of Philip," said he, "has greater weight with me than a thousand Dr. Ecks."

Melancthon easily detected the weak points in the discussion between Carlstadt and Eck. Referring to it, this wise and beautiful youth is reputed to have said: "One cannot help feeling astonished when we think on the violence with which these subjects were treated. How could any expect to derive instruction from it? The Spirit of God loves retirement and silence; it is there he penetrates into our hearts. The bride of Christ does not take her stand in the streets and crossways, but she leads her spouse into the house of her mother."

THE DISCUSSION.

Eck, having closed his debate with Carlstadt, prepares to confront a mightier opponent. He and Luther met on the 4th of July. The subject of dispute was of the gravest character, the pope's primacy; and there was a general and intense interest in the discussion.

"On the one side appeared Eck, the defender of the established teaching, and, like some boastful soldier, strong in confidence derived from previous triumphs. On the other side came Luther, to whom the contest seemed to promise nothing but persecutions and ignominy; but who presented himself with a clear conscience, a firm determination to sacrifice everything to the cause of truth, and a hope full of faith in God's power to deliver him."

These are the respective protestations of the combatants, as the discussion commences:

Luther. "In the name of the Lord, amen! I declare that the respect I have for the sovereign pontiff would have prevented my sustaining the part I am taking in this discussion, had not the worthy Dr. Eck persuaded me thereto."

Eck. "In thy name, blessed Jesus! Before I enter on this discussion, I protest, in your

presence, noble chiefs, that all I shall say is subject to the judgment of the first of all episcopal chairs, and to the master who fills it."

After a slight pause Eck proceeded to announce his proposition.

"There is in God's Church a *primacy* derived from Christ himself. The Church militant has been set up in the likeness of the Church triumphant. But this latter is a monarchy, wherein everything ascends hierarchically to its sole head, God himself. Therefore it is that Christ has established a similar order upon earth. How monstrous would the Church be without a head!"

Luther. "When the doctor declares that it is most needful that the Church universal have a Head, he says well. If there be any one among us who affirms the contrary, let him stand forth. I hold no such thing."

Eck. "If the Church militant has never been without its one head, I would beg to ask who he can be but the Roman pontiff?"

Luther, (raising his eyes to heaven.) "The Head of the Church militant is Christ himself, and not a mortal man. I believe this on the authority of God's testimony, whose word says: 'He must reign until his enemies be put under his feet.' Let us, then, no longer give ear to those who put away Christ to the Church triumphant in

heaven. His kingdom is a kingdom of faith. We *see not* our Head, and yet we are joined to him."

Thus commenced the discussion. It continued upon this topic during five days, and was then followed by debates on the topics of purgatory, indulgences, repentance, absolution, and satisfactions.

The controversy ended after twenty days, and the *Te Deum* was sung in conclusion of the ceremonies. During this solemn chant, were the minds of that great assembly as they were when, twenty days before, they sung upon their knees the ancient Hymn of Invocation?

It is said that the presentiments of many were realized, and that the arguments of the two opposing champions had inflicted an open wound upon the papacy.

RESULTS.

No decision was published on the matters discussed, and every one made his own comments. Eck privately acknowledged that he was defeated on many points, although publicly he boasted of his victories.

The sprightly and judicious Mosellanus stated what was very nearly the truth: "Eck," said

he, "has obtained the victory, in the opinion of those who do not understand the question, and who have grown gray in scholastic studies; but Luther and Carlstadt remain masters of the field, in the judgment of those who have learning, intelligence, and modesty."

It is certain that the words of Luther, in this discussion, had found their way with great force to many minds, several of whom were persons of distinction. It is said that the students of the university were especially affected. "They felt the difference between the spirit and power of the Wittenberg doctor and the sophistical distinctions and vain speculations of the chancellor of Ingolstadt. They saw Luther relying on the word of God. They saw Dr. Eck taking his stand only on the traditions of men. The effect was instantaneous. The lecturing halls of the University of Leipsic were almost deserted after the disputation. The force of truth attracted them to Wittenberg; there the number of students was doubled."

The Leipsic disputation produced a yet nobler result. "It was there that the theologian of the Reformation received his call to the work. Modest and silent, Melancthon had been present at the discussion, taking scarcely any part in it. Hitherto he had applied himself only to literature. The conference communicated to him a

new impulse, and launched the eloquent professor into theology. From that hour he bowed the heights of his learning before the word of God. He received the evangelical doctrine with the simplicity of a child. His auditors heard him explain the way of salvation with a grace and clearness which delighted every one. He advanced boldly in this path so new to him; 'for,' said he, 'Christ will not be wanting to those who are his.'

"From this period the two friends went forward together, contending for liberty and truth; the one with the energy of Paul, the other with the gentleness of John. Luther has well expressed the difference of their vocations. 'I,' says he, 'was born for struggling in the field of battle with parties and devils. Thus it is that my writings breathe war and tempest. I must root up stock and stem, clear away thorns and brambles, and fill up swamps and sloughs. I am like the sturdy wood-cutter, who must clear and level the road.

"'But our master of arts, Philip, goes forward quietly and gently, cultivating and planting, sowing and watering joyfully, according as God has dealt to him so liberally of his gifts.'"

And yet it is said that the mightiest result of this discussion was wrought in Luther himself.

"Driven to further investigation, he attained

unexpected discoveries. With equal surprise and indignation he beheld the evil in all its magnitude. Searching into the annals of the Church, he discovered that the supremacy of Rome had its origin in the ambition of one party, and the credulous ignorance of another. Silence as to these melancholy discoveries was not permitted to him. The pride of his adversaries, the victory they pretended to have gained, their endeavors to put out the light, decided his purpose. He went forward in the way wherein God led him, without disquieting himself as to the result to which it might lead him.

"Luther has marked this as the epoch of his enfranchisement from the papal yoke. 'Learn of me,' says he, 'how hard it is to unlearn the errors which the whole world confirms by its example, and which, by long use, have become to us a second nature. I had for seven years read and hourly expounded the Scriptures with much zeal, so that I knew them almost all by heart. I had also all the first-fruits of the knowledge and faith of my Lord Jesus Christ; that is, I knew that we are justified and saved, not by our works, but by faith in Christ; and I even openly maintained that it is not by Divine right that the pope is chief of the Christian Church. And yet . . . I could not see the conclusion from all this, namely, that of necessity

and beyond doubt, the pope is of the devil; for what is not of God, must needs be of the devil. Luther adds, further on: 'I do not now give free utterance to my indignation against those who still adhere to the pope, since I, who had for so many years read the Holy Scriptures with so much care, yet held to papacy with so much obstinacy.

THE FERMENT.

The storm thickens; Rome is becoming more and more exasperated under the attacks of Luther. The Universities of Cologne and Lorraine condemn his works, and thus produce great excitement. It begins to be whispered among certain fanatics that whoever should kill Luther would be without sin.

One day a stranger approaches the Reformer with a pistol concealed in his sleeve.

"Why do you go thus alone?" said the stranger.

"I am in the hands of God. He is my help and my shield. What can men do unto me?"

Thus Luther answered the stranger, and he turned pale and fled tremblingly away.

Serra Longa, the famous courtier already noticed in connection with the Augsburg Confer-

ence, wrote about the same time to the elector: "Let not Luther find an asylum in your highness's territories; let him be everywhere driven and stoned in open day. That will rejoice me more than if you were to give me ten thousand crowns."

But if a storm seemed gathering round the head of Luther, a greater one was thickening over Rome itself. Among other decisive marks of greatness which Luther evinced, one was, that amid the peltings of adversity, when clouds gathered darkly around him, and almost all other hearts quaked with fear, he rose above the storm, and was greater by the very difficulties with which he was called to grapple. Thus it was that Rome, by its deadly thrusts at the Reformer, only sent the sword of death into its own vitals. She chased Luther, but it was a lion rather than a hare that was pursued, and he turned upon his pursuer to her dismay and damage.

Luther saw that the time had now come for action; and he girded on the armor, and chose the Christian's conflict rather than the calm of the recluse.

"My resolution is taken," he said one morning. "I despise alike the rage and the favor of Rome. Away with reconciliation! I desire never more to have any communication with her!"

Already much had been accomplished. "The preaching of Luther had resounded far and wide; in cottages, in convents, in the houses of the citizens, in the castles of the nobles, in the academies, and in the palaces of kings. 'Let my life,' he had said to Duke John of Saxony, 'be found to bear fruit only in the conversion of one man, and I shall willingly consent that all my books should perish.' It was not a single individual, it was a great multitude that had discovered light in the writings of the humble doctor. Accordingly, everywhere men were found ready to protect him. The sword intended for his destruction, was in the act of being forged in the Vatican; but heroes were arising in Germany who would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. At the moment when the bishops were chafing with anger, when the princes kept silence, when the people were in expectation, and the thunders were already rolling above the seven hills, God stirred up the German nobility to form a bulwark for his servant."

Thus Luther received various letters from different valiant knights, offering him the protection of their swords. As he read them he exclaimed: "I will not resort to arms and bloodshed for the defense of the Gospel. It is by the preaching of the word that the world has been

conquered; by the word the Church has been saved; by the word, also, it will be restored. I will depend on none but Christ alone."

And yet the many testimonies of sympathy which came to him in this time of threatening and gloom were not without their influence. Luther felt that he was no longer alone, that his labors had not been in vain, and he became more free and resolute. He saw that in the papacy a haughty power had arisen in the midst of the humble shepherds of Christ's flock. He resolved to attack this usurped authority. "In the midst of all his troubles he had privately studied the rise, progress, and usurpations of the papacy. The discoveries he had made had filled him with amazement. He no longer hesitated to make them known, and to strike the blow which, like the rod of Moses in old time, was to awaken a people that had long slumbered in bondage."

"The time to be silent is past," he exclaims. "The time to speak has arrived!"

LUTHER'S APPEAL.

On the 23d of June, 1520, Luther published his celebrated *Appeal to his Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, concerning the Reformation of Christianity.*

We must give a few gems from this remarkable production.

He writes thus of the *barriers:*

"The Romanists have raised three barriers against all reformation. When the temporal power has attacked them, they have denied its authority, and asserted that the spiritual power was superior to it. When any one rebuked them out of the Scripture, they have answered that no one but the pope was able to interpret Scripture. When they have been threatened with a council, the reply has been, No one but the sovereign pontiff has authority to convoke a council."

"They have thus wrested from our hands the three rods destined to correct them, and have given the rein to all evil. But now, God help us, and give us one of those trumpets which overthrew the walls of Jericho! With the breath of our lips, let us throw down the paper walls which the Romanists have built around them,

and lift up the scourges which punish the wicked, by exposing the wiles and stratagems of the devil."

He writes thus of the figment of a *priestly caste:*

"It has been said, that the pope, the bishops, the priests, and those who dwell in the convents, form the spiritual or ecclesiastical state; and that the princes, nobles, citizens, and peasants form the secular state or laity. This is a fine story truly. Let no one, however, be alarmed by it. *All Christians* belong to the spiritual state; and there is no other difference between them than that of the functions which they discharge. We have all one baptism, one faith, and it is this which constitutes the spiritual man. The unction, the tonsure, ordination, consecration by the bishop or the pope, may make a hypocrite, but never a spiritual man. We are all alike consecrated priests by baptism; as St. Peter says, 'we are priests and kings;' although it does not belong to all to exercise such offices, for none can take to himself that which is common to all, without the consent of the community." "Hence it follows that laity and priests, princes and bishops, or, as they say, the clergy and the laity, have in reality nothing to distinguish them but their functions. They all belong to the same estate; but all have not the same work to perform."

He thus writes of the pope:

"It is monstrous to see him who is called the vicar of Christ, displaying a magnificence unrivaled by that of any emperor. Is this to resemble the poor and lowly Jesus, or the humble St. Peter? The pope, say they, is the lord of the world! But Christ, whose vicar he boasts himself to be, said: *My kingdom is not of this world.* Ought the power of the vicar to go beyond that of his Lord?"

He thus speaks of cardinals, and their influence upon Italy and Germany:

"Do you know what end the cardinals serve? I will tell you. Italy and Germany have many convents, religious foundations, and benefices, richly endowed. By what machinery can this wealth be drawn to Rome? Cardinals have been created: to them these cloisters and prelacies have been given; and at this moment Italy is almost deserted, the convents are destroyed, the bishoprics are devoured, the towns falling to decay, the inhabitants demoralized, religious worship expiring, and preaching abolished!—And why is all this? Because, forsooth, all the wealth of the churches must go to Rome. The Turk himself would never have so ruined Italy."

"And now that they have sucked the blood of their own nation, they come to Germany: they begin softly; but let us be on our guard,

or Germany will soon be like Italy. We have already some cardinals here and there. Before the dull-minded Germans comprehend our design, think they, they will have neither bishopric, convent, benefice, nor so much as one penny left. Antichrist must possess the treasure of the earth. Thirty or forty cardinals will be created in a day: to one will be given Bamberg, to another the bishopric of Wurzburg: to these will be attached rich benefices, until the churches and the cities are left desolate. And then the pope will say, I am the vicar of Christ, and shepherd of his flocks. Let the Germans submit to my authority."

He waxes warm as he proceeds:

"Let us endeavor to put a stop to so much wretchedness and desolation. If we want to march against the Turks, let us begin with those Turks who are the worst of all. If we hang thieves and cut off the heads of brigands, let us not suffer the avarice of Rome to escape, which is the greatest of all robbers and thieves: and that, too, in the name of St. Peter and of Jesus Christ! Who can tolerate this? Who can keep silence? Has not all that the pope possesses been obtained by robbery? for he has neither purchased it, nor inherited it from St. Peter, nor gained it by his labors. Whence then does it all come?"

APPEAL CONTINUED.

He makes another tilt at the pope.

"Is it not ridiculous that the pope should pretend to be the lawful heir of the empire! Who gave it to him? Was it Christ when he said: '*The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them: but it shall not be so with you!*' Luke xxii, 25, 26. How is it possible to govern an empire, and at the same time to preach, pray, study, and have care for the poor? Christ forbade the twelve to carry with them either gold or two coats, because the duties of the ministry cannot be discharged, unless there is a freedom from all other care; and the pope would at the same time govern the empire, and remain pope?"

Luther would strip the pontiff of his spoils.

"Let the pope renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to it than I have. It is without any just claim, and inconsistent with the directions of Christ, that he holds possession of Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, Romagna, the Marches of Ancona, etc. '*No man that warreth,*' says St. Paul, '*entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.*' 2 Tim. ii, 4. And the pope, who

claims to be chief of the Church militant, entangles himself more with the things of this life than any emperor or king. We must relieve him from all this burden. Let the emperor put into the hands of the pope the Bible and mass-book, in order that his holiness may leave government for kings, and keep to preaching and praying."

Luther makes a dash also at the pope's authority in Germany.

"As a first step it behooves us to expel from all the German states the pope's legates, and the pretended benefits which they sell us at their weight in gold, and which are mere impostures. They take our money, and for what? for legalizing ill-gotten gains; for dissolving the sacredness of oaths; for teaching us to break faith; for instructing us in sin, and leading us directly to hell. Hear this, O pope! not 'most holy,' but most sinning! May God, from his throne on high, hurl thy throne, ere long, to the bottomless pit!"

Luther pays his respects to the monks.

"Now, then, I come to that slothful crew who promise much but do little. Bear with me, my friends. I mean you well; what I have to say to you is a truth both sweet and bitter; it is that no more cloisters must be built for mendicant friars. God knows we have enough al-

ready, and would to heaven they were all leveled with the ground! Vagabonding through a country never has done, and never can do good."

Luther writes thus of the priestly celibacy:

"To what a condition is the clergy fallen, and how many priests do we find burdened with women and children, and their bitter remorse, while no one comes to their aid! It may suit the pope and the bishops to let things go on as they list, and that which is lost continue lost. Be it so; but, for my part, I will deliver my conscience. I will open my mouth freely; let pope, bishop, or whoever will, take offense at it! I say, then, that according to the appointment of Christ and his apostles, every town should have a pastor, or bishop, and that this pastor may have one wife, as St. Paul writes to Timothy, 'Let the bishop be the husband of one wife,' (1 Tim. iii, 2,) and as is still the practice in the Greek Church. But the devil has persuaded the pope, as St. Paul tells Timothy, (1 Tim. iv, 1–3,) 'to forbid' the clergy 'to marry.' And hence miseries innumerable. What is to be done? What resource for so many pastors, irreproachable in everything, except that they live in secret commerce with a woman to whom they would, with all their heart, be joined in wedlock? Ah! let them set their consciences at rest! let them take this

woman for their lawful wife, let them live virtuously with her, without troubling themselves whether it please the pope or not. The salvation of the soul is of more consequence than tyrannous and arbitrary laws, which come not from the Lord."

Luther writes thus of the *Church festivals:*

"Let festivals be abolished, and none observed but Sunday: or if it is wished to keep the great Christian festivals, let them be celebrated only in the morning, and the rest of the day be regarded as a working-day. For since people do nothing on feast days but drink, play, run into vice, or waste their time in idleness, there is much more offense to God on these days than on others."

Luther writes thus of the university:

"I fear much that the universities will be found to be great gates leading down to hell, unless they take diligent care to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to engrave them in the hearts of our youth. I would not advise any one to place his child where the Holy Scriptures are not regarded as the rule of life. Every institution where God's word is not diligently studied, must become corrupt."

"Weighty words!" adds the historian, "which governments, fathers, and the learned in all *ages,* would do well to consider."

Sentiments like these, and much more of a kindred character, were spread forth in this bold appeal. One awful charge against them was held back, which, if published, would have probably afforded great occasion for scandal. It has been asked what it was that could embolden this obscure German to stand up in the midst of his own long-enslaved nation, and to strike such mighty blows against the papal authority.

"Behold I have made thy face strong against their faces. As an adamant, harder than flint, have I made thy forehead: fear them not."

EFFECT OF THE APPEAL.

The Appeal to the German nobility appeared June 26, 1520, and in a short time four thousand copies were sold; an extraordinary number for that time. It soon reached all those for whom it had been written, and spread through Germany, and among all classes, with wonderful rapidity. It produced a powerful influence upon the people. "The force, the spirit, the clearness, and the noble daring which reigned throughout it, rendered it a most popular tract. In short, it was felt by the common people as proceeding from one who loved them.

The hesitating views of very many wise men were clearly brought out, and the usurpations of Rome were made evident to the minds of all. No one at Wittenberg any longer doubted that the pope was antichrist. Even the elector's court, so circumspect and timid, manifested no disapprobation, and seemed to wait the result. But the nobility and the people did not wait. The whole nation was roused: the voice of Luther had deeply moved it; henceforth it was gained over, and rallied round the standard that he raised. Nothing could have been more favorable to the Reformer than this publication. In palaces, in the castles of the nobles, in the citizens' dwellings, and even in the cottages of the peasantry, all were now prepared, and as though cased in steel against the sentence of condemnation which was about to fall upon this prophet of the people.

"All Germany was in a flame, and whenever the pope's bull might come, it would not avail to extinguish the conflagration."

Meanwhile Rome trembled, and extreme measures were become necessary. "The gauntlet was thrown down; the combat must be to the death. It was not the abuses of the pontiff's authority itself that Luther had attacked. At his bidding, the pope was required to descend meekly from his throne, and become again a

simple pastor or bishop on the banks of the Tiber. All the dignitaries of the Roman hierarchy were required to renounce their riches and worldly glory, and again become the elders and deacons of the Churches of Italy. All that splendor and power which had, for centuries, dazzled the West, was to vanish away, and give place to the humble simplicity of the worship of the first Christians."

At length, spurred on by the exasperated Eck, who burned with vengeance against the Reformer, the pope and his counselors yielded against their better judgment, and the condemnation of Luther was decreed. "It was arranged that Luther's doctrine should be condemned immediately, and that as to himself and his adherents, a term of sixty days should be granted them; after which, if they did not recant their opinions, they should be all *ipso facto* excommunicated."

LUTHER TO THE POPE.

After the bull of excommunication arrived in Germany, and before Luther had seen it, he wrote to the pope, resolving, before bidding a final farewell to Rome, to address her once more some salutary truths. It was a singular letter,

expressing great regard for the pope, between whom and *Rome*, or *Romanism*, he makes a broad distinction, recognizing the former as almost innocent, and the latter as the very sink of iniquity.

A specimen or two from this letter must suffice.

"Full of affection for you, most excellent Leo, I have ever regretted that, formed as you are for a better age, you have been raised to the pontificate at such a period as this. Rome is not worthy of you, or of any who resemble you; she deserves no other ruler than Satan himself; and truly it is he, rather than yourself, who reigns in that Babylon.

"Is it not true that there is nothing under heaven more corrupt and hateful than the Roman court? It exceeds the very Turks in vice and profligacy. Once as the gate of heaven, it is become the jaws of hell itself! distending and kept open by the wrath of God; so that when I behold so many poor creatures throwing themselves into it, I must needs cry aloud in the midst of this tempest, that some may be saved from this frightful abyss.

"This, O Leo, my father, is the reason why I have inveighed so strongly against a see which dispenses death to its adherents. Far from conspiring against your person, I have felt

that I was laboring for your safety, in boldly attacking the prison, or rather the hell, in which you are confined. To do the utmost to destroy the court of Rome, is but to discharge your own duty. To cover it with shame, is to honor Christ; in a word, to be a Christian, is to be not a Roman."

FAITH.

Accompanying the above letter to the pope, Luther sends him his Discourse, entitled, "The Liberty of the Christian." This discourse contained some remarks upon faith and its influence, which are esteemed to be of too great value to be omitted here.

"Faith unites the soul with Christ, as a spouse with her husband. Everything which Christ has, becomes the property of the believing soul: everything which the soul has, becomes the property of Christ. Christ possesses all blessings and eternal life: they are thenceforward the property of the soul. The soul has all its iniquities and sins! they are thenceforward borne by Christ. A blessed exchange commences: Christ, who is both God and man; Christ who has never sinned, and whose holiness is invincible; Christ, the Almighty and

Eternal, taking to himself by his nuptial ring of *faith* all the sins of the believer; these sins are lost and abolished in him, for no sins dwell before his infinite righteousness. Thus by faith the believer's soul is delivered from all sins, and clothed with the eternal righteousness of her bridegroom, Christ. O happy union! the rich, the noble, the holy Bridegroom takes in marriage his poor, guilty, and despised spouse, delivers her from every evil, and enriches her with the most precious blessings. Christ, a king and a priest, shares this honor and glory with all Christians. The Christian is a king, and consequently possesses all things: he is a priest, and consequently possesses God. And it is *faith*, not works, which brings him all this honor. "A Christian is free from all things, above all things; faith giving him richly of all things!"

Further on he adds: "Although the Christian is thus made free, he voluntarily becomes a servant, that he may act toward his brethren as God has acted toward himself by Jesus Christ. "I will serve," he says, "freely, joyfully, gratuitously, a Father who has thus shed upon me all the abundance of his blessings. I will become all things to my neighbor, as Christ has become all things for me. From *faith* flows the *love* of God; from love flows a

life of liberty, charity, and joy. O how noble and exalted is the Christian's life! but alas! none know it, and none preach it. By faith the Christian ascends to God; by love he descends to man, and yet abides ever in God. Such is true liberty, a liberty which as much surpasses every other as the heavens are high above the earth.

THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

It is curious that while the Reformer was thus addressing the pope, the bull of excommunication was at the door of Luther's dwelling. It was borne by the famous Dr. Eck, who, "proud of the commission which he had received from the sovereign pontiff, and of the bull he bore in his hands, and which contained the condemnation of his unconquerable rival, his present mission was in his eyes a greater triumph than all the victories he had gained in Hungary, in Bavaria, in Lombardy, and Saxony, and from which he had previously derived so much credit."

But it seems that the very fact of its being published by Eck rendered the whole thing distasteful even to Luther's enemies themselves, and destroyed much of its impression. Indeed

he found his publication of the bull hedged up in various places and in various ways.

Yet the blow is struck, and Luther is excommunicated; and "for centuries Rome had not uttered the sentence of condemnation without following it with the stroke of death."

It was an awful crisis for the Reformer, and he is by no means blind to the great danger of his situation. He looks for Divine support, and prepares, as a martyr, to receive the blow that seems about to crush him.

"What is about to happen," said he, "I know not, nor do I care to know; assured as I am that He who sits on the throne of heaven has, from all eternity, foreseen the beginning, the progress, and the end of this affair. Let the blow light when it may, I am without fear. Not so much as a leaf falls, without the will of our Father. How much rather will he care for us! It is a light thing to die; for the Word which was made flesh hath himself died. If we die with him, we shall live with him; and passing through that which he has passed through before us, we shall be where he is, and dwell with him forever."

The papal bull reaches Luther. "At last then this Roman bull has come to hand," said he; "I despise it, and resist it, as impious, false, and in every way worthy of Eck. It is *Christ* him-

self who is therein condemned. No reasons are given in it; I am cited to appear, not that I may be heard; but that I may recant. I will treat it as a forgery, although I believe it to be genuine. O that Charles the Fifth would act as a man! O that for the love of Christ he would humble these demons! I glory in the prospect of suffering for the best of causes. Already I feel in my heart more liberty; for I now know that the pope is antichrist, and that his chair is for Satan himself."

All eyes were turned toward Luther, and all were waiting to see what he would do. Nor did he keep them long in suspense. He immediately answered with great boldness and energy, in a discourse which he entitled, "*Against the Bull of Antichrist.*"

Yet the bull was taking effect. The word of the pontiff of Christendom still carried force. Fire and sword had long since taught submission. The stake was still fixed and the fagots piled at his bidding. Everything announced that an awful catastrophe was about to put an end to "the audacious rebellion of the Augustine monk."

There were many weak and superstitious ones who trembled before the power of the pope; while yet there was a great amount of sympathy for the cause of reform. As to Luther, perfectly

confident in the strength of his cause, he is said to have preserved his composure amid all the tumult excited by the bull. "Be of good cheer," he says to Spalatin. "It was Christ that began all this, and he will bring it to its appointed issue, even though my lot be banishment and death. Jesus Christ is here present; and he that is in us, is mightier than he that is in the world."

APPEAL FROM THE POPE.

LUTHER was now fully awake. He resolved to meet sentence with sentence, and blow with blow, and the world should judge between himself and the pope.

On the 17th of November he invites to his residence a notary and five witnesses, and then in solemn tone of voice entered his appeal and protest.

"Forasmuch as a general council of the Christian Church is superior to the pope, especially in matters of faith;

"Forasmuch as the authority of the pope is not superior, but inferior to Scripture, and he has no right to slay Christ's sheep, or cast them into the jaws of the wolf;

"I, Martin Luther, an Augustine, and doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittenberg, on my

own behalf, and on behalf of such as stand or shall stand on my side, do, by this instrument, appeal from his holiness, Pope Leo, to a general Christian Council hereafter to be held.

"I appeal from the aforesaid Pope Leo; first, as an unjust, hasty, and oppressive judge, who condemns me without having given me a hearing, and without declaring the grounds of his judgment; secondly, as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ, who requires me to deny the necessity of Christian *faith* in the use of the sacraments; thirdly, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and a usurper of their authority, who presumes to set up his own decrees against all the declarations of the word of God; fourthly, as a contemner, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian Church, and of every free council, who asserts that a council is nothing in itself.

"Wherefore I most humbly beseech the most serene, illustrious, excellent, wise, and worthy lords, Charles the Roman Emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, cities, and municipalities of the whole German nation, to adhere to this my protest, and unite with me to resist the antichristian proceedings of the pope, for God's glory, in defense of the Church and of the Christian faith,

and to uphold the free councils of Christendom; and Christ, our Saviour, will richly reward them by his everlasting grace. But if there be any who set my entreaties at naught, preferring obedience to the pope, an impious man, rather than to obey God, I do hereby disavow all responsibility on their account, having given a faithful warning to their consciences, and I leave them to the final judgment of God, together with the pope and all his adherents."

Such was Luther's appeal and answer, and it was a momentous declaration. The document was circulated throughout all Germany, and found its way into most of the courts of Christendom.

THE AUTO DA FÉ.

On the 10th of December a placard was affixed to the walls of the Wittenberg church, inviting the professors and students to repair at the hour of nine in the morning to the east gate, beside the holy cross. Accordingly a great number of doctors and youths assembled, and Luther put himself at the head of the company, and they proceeded to the place appointed.

A scaffold had been erected, and was set on fire. As the flames arose, Luther approached

and cast into the midst of them the canon law, the decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the pope, and some of the works of Eck and Emser.

When these were reduced to ashes, he takes the pope's bull, holds it up, and exclaims: "Since thou hast afflicted the Lord's Holy One, may fire unquenchable afflict and consume thee!" Then he threw it into the flames and calmly returned, followed by the crowd of spectators. "This is a mighty struggle but just begun," he said; "hitherto I have been only jesting with the pope. I entered upon this work in the name of God; he will bring it to a close without my aid, by his own power. If they dare to burn my books, of which it is no vain boast to say that they contain more of the Gospel than all the pope's books put together, I may, with far better reason, burn theirs, which are wholly worthless."

By this act Luther distinctly declared his separation from the pope and the papal Church. He thus accepted the excommunication, and proclaimed to the world that between himself and the pope there was war to the death.

The next morning, at the close of his lecture, the hall being unusually crowded, he said with great animation: "Be on your guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. I have

burned the decretals, but that is mere child's play. It is time, and more than time, that the pope himself were burned: I mean, the papal chair, with all its false doctrines, and all its abominations." He then added with great solemnity: "If you do not, with your whole hearts, resist the impious usurpation of the pope, you cannot be saved. Whosoever takes pleasure in the popish doctrine and worship, will be lost to all eternity in the world to come."

The effect was tremendous. It was felt by the whole of that great audience, that those words were truth, and "it was evident," said one of the hearers, "that Dr. Luther is an angel of the living God, commissioned to lead back the sheep of Christ's flock to the wholesome pastures from which we have wandered."

Thus passed Luther out from the Roman Church into the true Catholic Church, the Church universal, founded by Christ and the apostles, and which comprises all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

"At the east gate of Wittenberg he kindled a flame which three hundred years have not yet extinguished." And so predicted Luther: "Remember," he says to Staupitz, "what you yourself said, If God were not the author of all this, it never could have taken place. The tu-

mult is constantly growing more and more tremendous, nor do I think it will ever be appeased until the last day."

"The papacy," he adds, "has ceased to be what it was yesterday and the day before. Excommunicate me, and burn my writings, it may; ay, and put me to death! but that which is now going forward it can never stop. We stand on the very threshold of some wonderful dispensation. When I burned the bull, it was with inward fear and trembling; but I look back upon that act with more pleasure than upon any passage of my life."

PAPAL STRUGGLINGS.

The great battle is now fully begun. "The combatants have flung away their scabbards. The word of God has reclaimed its rightful authority, and the sentence of deposition has gone forth against him who had usurped the place of God."

Multitudes commended Luther, and yet there were other multitudes who condemned him, and overwhelmed him with reproaches from every quarter. It was asserted against him that he brought forward novelties, and that it could not be that all other teachers had for so long a time

been in error. "No," replied Luther, "these are not novelties that I preach! But I affirm that the doctrines of Christianity have been lost sight of by those whose special duty it was to preserve them; by the learned, by the bishops. I doubt not, indeed, that the truth has still found an abode in some few hearts, were it only with infants in the cradle. Poor husbandmen and simple children, in these days, understand more of *Jesus Christ* than the pope, the bishops, or the doctors."

Thus this great man advances, and he obviously waxes bolder and bolder. Rejoicing in his freedom from the shackles of Rome, he speaks and writes all that is in his heart; he confirms, and more than confirms, all that he has before said, and launches forth in open war against the errors and abominations of popery. Meanwhile his powerful language sinks deeply in the minds of men. "Every word was a living spark helping to spread the flame through the whole nation."

On the other hand, the emissaries of Rome were awake and active. The pope's two nuncios, Carracioli and Alexander, had arrived at Cologne, to congratulate the new emperor, Charles V., and especially to influence him to crush with his imperial arm the rising Reformation. The emperor gave his consent to the pub-

lic burning of Luther's writings throughout his hereditary dominions; that is, beyond the limits of the German States.

The nuncios were solemnly warned that such measures would inflame the wound rather than heal it; that the doctrine of Luther was deeply engraven where they could not obliterate it—in the hearts of the German nation; and that a few fagots consuming a few sheets of paper would be of little avail, while it would ill beseem the dignity of the emperor.

But the nuncios had a further object in view, and Luther himself was the mark at which they aimed. "These fires," said Alexander, "are not sufficient to purify the pestilential atmosphere of Germany. Though they may strike terror into the simple-minded, they leave the authors of the mischief unpunished. We must have an imperial edict sentencing Luther to death."

But they found this to be a matter of more difficulty, and the emperor was not ready, without mature advice from his counselors, to deliver Luther to their power. "Let us first ascertain," he said, "what our father, the Elector of Saxony, thinks of the matter. We shall then be prepared to give our answer to the pope."

And the nuncios are obliged to confer with the good elector, who seems never to have done

anything rashly. Alexander, especially, is impetuous in the presence of the elector. "You cannot join yourself to Luther," said he, "without being dissevered from Christ. In the name of his holiness, I require of you two things: first, that you cause Luther's writings to be burned; secondly, that you inflict upon the heretic himself the punishment he deserves, or else that you deliver him up a prisoner to the pope."

Frederic replied: "This is a matter of too much importance to be decided instantly. Our determination in regard to it shall be duly communicated to you."

We should appreciate the delicate and difficult position of this great and good man at this juncture. On the one side is the emperor, the princes of the empire, and the pope, whose authority Frederic was not yet ready to shake off. On the other side stands a monk, a poor monk, Martin Luther; for it is against him alone that all this great assault is leveled.

It is said that Frederic's courage faltered, perhaps, for a while. But it soon rose again to its wonted pitch. "He shuddered at the thought of delivering an honest man into the hands of his implacable enemies. 'Justice must have precedence even of the pope.' By this principle would he regulate his conduct."

Accordingly he caused to be intimated to the

papal nuncios "that neither his imperial majesty nor any one else had yet made it appear to him that Luther's writings had been refuted, or demonstrated to be fit only for the flames; that he demanded, therefore, that Doctor Luther should be furnished with a safe-conduct, and permitted to answer for himself before a tribunal composed of learned, pious, and impartial judges."

The nuncios were grievously disappointed. They had expected the elector would adopt a very different course, and surrender without hesitation the obnoxious monk. "So Rome had reasoned. But her machinations were now to be baffled by a power which her calculations had left wholly out of view—the love of justice and truth."

Tidings of all this reach Wittenberg, and Luther's friends are transported with joy. "The German nobles," said Melancthon, "will follow the guidance of the prince, whom they revere as their Nestor. If Homer styled his aged hero the *bulwark of the Greeks*, why may not our Frederic be surnamed *the bulwark of Germany?*"

ERASMUS.

In the midst of this great trouble and excitement, the elector confers with Erasmus, then at Cologne. He had been summoned thither by several princes desirous to profit by his counsels.

Erasmus was the prince of scholars, the oracle of courts, the arbiter of schools and of the learning of the age. He had long seen and felt the great abuses of Rome, while yet he demurred at what he deemed the violent and imprudent proceedings of Luther. He seemed to aim at holding the *just mean* between the two extremes, as if there could be any middle ground between truth and error. He "would neither throw himself into the arms of Luther, nor yet would he crouch at the footstool of the pope."

He wavered, and sometimes lost his balance, between the two opposing influences, ever and anon attracted toward the Reformer, and then again suddenly drawn back into the sphere of Romish delusion.

Erasmus is ushered into the presence of the elector, and the following account is given us of their interview:

"What think you of Luther?" asked Frederic immediately.

The prudent Erasmus, surprised by the question so suddenly put to him, endeavored at first to evade a reply. He screwed up his mouth, bit his lips, and remained silent.

Hereupon the elector raised his eyebrows, (as was his custom, Spalatin tells us, when he meant to force an explicit answer from the person with whom he was conversing,) and looked Erasmus steadfastly in the face.

The latter, at a loss how to extricate himself from the difficulty, replied at last in a half jocular tone: "Luther has committed two grievous sins. He has attacked the pope's crown and the monks' bellies."

The elector smiled, but intimated to his visitor that he was in earnest. Erasmus then casting off his reserve, replied as follows: "The origin of all these dissensions is the hatred the monks bear to learning, and the fear that besets them of seeing their tyranny brought to an end. What are the weapons of their warfare against Luther? Clamor, cabal, malice, and slander. The more virtuous a man is, and the more strongly attached to the doctrines of the Gospel, the less does he find to censure in Luther's proceedings. The severity of the bull has roused the indignation of all good men, for they find in it none of the gentleness that befits the vicar of Christ. Two universities only, out of the

whole number, have condemned Luther, and even they have condemned without having convicted him.

"Let them not deceive themselves. The danger is greater than some persons imagine. There are difficulties in their way which will not easily be surmounted.

"To begin the reign of Charles by so unpopular an act as Luther's imprisonment, would be an evil omen for the future. The world is thirsting for Gospel truth. Let us beware how we resist so holy a desire. Let the whole question be examined by dispassionate and competent judges; it is the only course that can be followed consistently with the dignity of the pope himself."

Thus spoke Erasmus to the elector. Spalatin, who was present, was greatly delighted, and the elector was strengthened by the opinion of the illustrious scholar, and assumed a more decided tone in his communications with the emperor.

THE CONFESSIONAL.

MEANWHILE Luther is at Wittenberg, lecturing, preaching, writing, and praying. He is informed of the efforts made against him by the priests at the confessional. "Have you

read the writings of Luther? Have you them in possession? Do you regard them as true or heretical?" Such were the questions asked of penitents, and if they hesitated to pronounce the prescribed curse upon these writings, the priest refused absolution. Thus the consciences of multitudes were disturbed, and great agitation prevailed among the people.

Luther, on hearing of this, was aroused, and lifted up his voice in holy indignation. Addressing the penitents, he said:

"When you are asked whether or not you approve of my books, let your answer be: 'You are a confessor, not an inquisitor, nor a jailer. It is my duty to confess whatsoever my conscience prompts me to disclose; it is yours to abstain from prying into the secrets of my heart. Give me absolution first, and then dispute with Luther, with the pope, with whomsoever you please; but beware of turning the sacrament of penance into an instrument of strife and debate.' And if the confessor should refuse to yield," said Luther, "I would dispense with his absolution. Be not disquieted. If man absolves you not, God will absolve you. Rejoice, therefore, that you are absolved of God himself, and come forward fearlessly to the sacrament of the altar. The priest will have to answer at the last day for the absolution he has withheld.

They may deny us the sacrament, but they cannot deprive us of the strength and grace which God has attached to it. It is not their will, nor any power of theirs, but our own faith that the Lord has made essential to our salvation. The sacrament, the altar, the priest, the Church, we may pass them all by. That word of God, which the bull condemned, is more than all these things! The soul may dispense with the sacrament, but it cannot live without the word. Christ, the true Bishop, will himself supply your spiritual feast."

Thus Luther exhorted, and that animating voice is said to have pierced the recesses of every dwelling, and of every troubled bosom, and awakened courage and faith everywhere by its echoes.

THE DIET OF WORMS.

A SOLEMN Diet, the first assembly of the German States after the accession of Charles V. to the empire, gathered at Worms, January 6th, 1521. It is said that never before had so many princes assembled as on this occasion. All were desirous of participating in the first acts of the young emperor's government, and all were ambitious of displaying their grandeur. There were great political questions and interests to

be considered by this grand assembly; but all these faded into insignificance when contrasted with the cause of the monk of Wittenberg.

The Emperor Charles seemed placed in a very difficult and unpleasant dilemma, with the papal nuncio on the one hand, urging him to execute the pope's bull, and the Elector Frederic on the other, to whom he was so much indebted for his crown, and who entreated him to take no steps against Luther until he should have allowed him a hearing.

Charles had written the elector to bring Luther with him to the diet, assuring him that no injustice should be done him, and that he should be protected from all violence, and also that a free conference should be allowed him with one qualified to discuss the disputed points.

The elector was greatly perplexed by this letter. He was very reluctant to carry the Reformer to Worms, fearing that he might be conducting him to the scaffold.

And the friends of Luther trembled, while he himself was calm. His health was at this time quite poor, yet he seemed anxious to appear before the emperor. "If I cannot perform the journey to Worms as a man in good health," he writes to the elector, "I will be carried thither on a litter. For, since the emperor has summoned me, I can regard it only as the cause of

God. If they intend to use violence against me, as they probably do, for assuredly it is with no view of gaining information that they require me to appear before them, I commit the matter into the hands of God. He still lives and reigns who preserved the three Israelites in the fiery furnace. If it be not his will to save me my life is but little worth. Let us only take care that the Gospel be not exposed to the insults of the ungodly, and let us shed our blood in its defense rather than allow them to triumph. Who shall say whether my life or my death would contribute most to the salvation of my brethren? It is not for us to decide. Let us only pray God that our young emperor may not begin his reign by imbruing his hands in my blood. I would rather perish by the sword of Rome. You remember the judgments with which the Emperor Sigismund was visited after the murder of John Huss. Expect anything from me but flight or recantation. Fly I cannot, still less can I recant."

But the elector seemed certain that the conference at Worms could lead to no profitable result, and he begs of the emperor to be relieved from bringing Luther with him; assuring him at the same time that it had not been his desire to favor the Reformer's doctrines, but only to prevent him from being condemned unheard.

ALEANDER, THE LEGATE.

But the report of Luther's intended coming was circulated at Worms. "The seekers after novelty heard it with joy, the imperial courtiers with alarm; but by none was it received with so indignant a feeling as by the papal legate.

"Aleander, on his way to the Diet, had had opportunities of seeing to what extent the Gospel proclaimed by Luther had found acceptance in every class of society. Academicians, lawyers, nobles, the inferior clergy, many even of the monks, and vast numbers of the common people, had embraced the Reformation. The adherents of the new doctrines showed a fearless front; their language was frank and firm; and, on the contrary, an unconquerable terror paralyzed the partisans of Rome."

It is recorded that Aleander, the pope's nuncio, as he journeyed from Rome to Worms was often subjected to the severest mortification. As he stopped for refreshment or repose he found very few of any class who would venture to receive him, and he was obliged to seek shelter in the meanest inns. He was even fearful of his life, and arrived at Worms full of bitterness

from the sense of personal injury, as well as from the general defection from popery.

The legate dreaded the appearance of the formidable Luther at Worms, and set himself to prevent it by all the means at his command. "Would it not be a scandal," said he, "to see laymen instituting a fresh inquiry into a cause in which the pope has already pronounced a sentence of condemnation?"

He had apprehensions that the man whose powerful eloquence had already wrought such deadly mischief, might draw aside many of the princes and lords from the interests of the pope. Hence his remonstrances with Charles against Luther's appearance at Worms were of the most urgent character.

He entreated and threatened until the emperor gave way, and notified Frederic that unless the Reformer would retract he might leave him at Wittenberg. Luther, on his part, was much grieved that he was forbidden to appear at Worms.

Meanwhile Aleander used his utmost diligence to secure Luther's condemnation. He returned again and again to the charge with the princes, prelates, and other members of the assembly, accusing the Reformer with sedition, rebellion, impiety, and blasphemy.

But hatred and vengeance were perceived to

be his motives, rather than any zeal for religion Meanwhile a conviction of Luther's innocenc was the prevailing sentiment of the assembly and Aleander could not restrain his indignation

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

While all seemed so cool and quiet with th Diet, Rome lifted up its head with uncommo wrath.

The pope issues a new bull, and the excom munication which before had been threatene against Luther is now decidedly pronounce against him and all his adherents.

Thus was snapped the last thread that hel the Reformer to the papal Church, and h consequently felt more liberty and power tha ever. Banished from Rome, he flew more a dently to the arms of Christ, and felt more deepl than ever, that while driven from the outwar temple, he was himself a temple inhabited b the Holy Spirit.

"It is a glorious thing," he said, "that w sinners, believing in Christ and feeding on hi flesh, should have him dwelling in us, in all hi power, his wisdom, and his righteousness; for i is written, *Whosoever believeth in me, in him abide.* O wonderful abode! marvelous tabe

nacle! how far excelling that which was set up by Moses! within how magnificently adorned with costly hangings, and purple vails, and implements of gold! and yet without, even like that other tabernacle which God commanded to be erected in the wilderness of Sinai, there is nothing to be seen but the coarse covering of rams' skins and goats' hair. Often does the Christian stumble, and in his outward aspect all is weakness and reproach. But what matters it? beneath that infirmity and foolishness of his, a power lies hid which the world cannot know, and which yet must overcome the world; for Christ abideth in him. I have sometimes seen Christians halting in their walk and ready to fall, but when the hour came that they must wrestle with the enemy, or plead their Master's cause before the world, Christ, on a sudden, stirred within them, and so strong and valiant did they then become that Satan was dismayed and fled from their presence."

Not many days elapsed when Luther, at Wittenberg, learns that it is again in contemplation to summon him to Worms. He rejoices at the intelligence, and longs for the opportunity to correct personally the erroneous notions entertained by the princes of that august assembly, and candidly explain to them a cause so little understood.

The following letter, written by Luther at this critical period, and addressed to the Elector Frederic, deserves the deepest attention. It unfolds the true motives by which he was actuated, and reveals the secret springs which gave the first impulse to the revival of Christianity:

"I rejoice with all my heart, most serene prince," said he, "that his imperial majesty is disposed to have this affair brought before him. I call Christ to witness that it is the cause of the German nation, of the Catholic Church, of the Christian world, of God himself; not the cause of a solitary, humble individual. I am ready to repair to Worms, provided only that a safe-conduct, and learned, pious, and impartial judges, be allowed me. I am ready to answer for myself; for it is not in the spirit of recklessness, nor for the sake of worldly profit, that I have taught the doctrine which is laid to my charge. I have taught it in obedience to my conscience and to my oath as a doctor of the Holy Scriptures; for God's glory have I taught it; for the salvation of the Christian Church; for the good of the German people; for the rooting out of gross superstition and grievous abuses; the cure of innumerable evils; the wiping away of foul disgrace; the overthrow of tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety in countless forms."

But the emissaries of the pope considered it

of the first importance to prevent Luther's appearing at Worms. "To the nuncios, the monks, and the rest of the papal phalanx, a dead man returning from the other world, and appearing in the midst of the Diet, would not have been so fearful a spectacle as the bodily presence of the doctor of Wittenberg." Yet all the various artifices employed seemed to be unavailing, while the admissions deceitfully made touching the necessity of reformation in the Church, only tended to confirm Frederic in the opinion that Luther was in the right, and that it was his duty to protect him.

Aleander, the pope's legate, was especially alarmed, and put forth extraordinary energy, and omitted no means whatever to carry his points. "Not a day passes," wrote the elector to his brother John, "but measures hostile to Luther are brought forward. His enemies now demand that he should be placed under the ban of the pope and the emperor jointly; to injure him by every possible method is their single aim. The men who parade their red hats before us—the Romans and their followers—pursue this work with an unwearied zeal."

The emperor did not long hold out against the solicitations of the nuncio. "Convince the Diet," said the monarch to him. This was exactly what Aleander desired, and it was

agreed that he should be introduced to the assembly on the 13th of February."

THE NUNCIO'S SPEECH.

History tells that Aleander prepared himself with the greatest care to appear before that great and splendid presence. "It was a weighty task that had been imposed upon him; but Aleander was worthy to sustain it.

"He was not merely the legate and representative of the sovereign pontiff, invested with all the outward dignity befitting his exalted functions; he was also one of the most eloquent men of his age. The friends of the Reformation awaited the result in some anxiety. The elector, under the pretext of indisposition, absented himself from the sitting; but he instructed some of his counselors to attend, and to take notes of the nuncio's discourse."

On the appointed day Aleander proceeded to the Imperial Assembly. It is said that there was great excitement among the people, and that many called to mind the scene of Annas and Caiaphas in the judgment hall of Pilate, demanding the death of him "*who perverteth the nation.*" As he entered the door the usher is reported to have clenched his fist in the face of

the nuncio, and thrust him back. Yet he made his way into the hall, and never had Rome been summoned to plead her cause before so august an assembly.

As he arose to speak, the exordium of his oration was as follows:

"Most august emperor! most potent princes! most excellent deputies! I appear before you to advocate the cause which engages the warmest affections of my heart. My office is to guard the ever-hallowed tiara that rests on the brows of my master, to uphold that pontifical throne in whose defense I would gladly deliver my body to the flames, were I only assured that the newly-spawned heresy which I stand forth to denounce would perish along with me."

He then proceeded to assert that Luther had attacked the doctrines of the Church; had taught that penitents alone were worthy communicants; that baptism justifies no one without faith; that he denied the necessity of good works in order to salvation, and that he denied our natural power to obey God.

"Why should I enumerate," he continues, "all the crimes of this audacious monk? He sins against the dead, for he denies the existence of purgatory; he sins against heaven, for he says that he would not believe an angel sent from heaven; he sins against the Church, for he

maintains that *all* Christians are priests; he sins against the saints, for he treats their venerable writings with contempt; he sins against councils, for he calls the Council of Constance an assembly of devils; he sins against the secular power, for he forbids the punishment of death to be inflicted on any one who has not committed a mortal sin. There are people who tell us he is a man of piety. I will not impugn his private character; I will only remind this assembly that it is a common thing for the devil to deceive men under the appearance of sanctity."

Further on he launches terrible invectives against the Reformer personally. Adverting indignantly to the opinion expressed by many that Luther ought to be heard, he exclaimed that Luther would allow himself to be set right by no one; that when summoned to Rome, he disobeyed the call; that when summoned to appear before the legate at Augsburg, he would not obey without a safe-conduct from the emperor, thus tying the legate's hands, and allowing him the use of his tongue only. Whereupon he turns to the emperor, and in such words as follow, deprecates any further protection of the monk by him.

"I beseech your imperial majesty not to do that which could only reflect dishonor upon

your name. Meddle not with an affair in which the laity have no right to interpose. Discharge the duty that properly devolves upon you. Let Luther's doctrines be proscribed by your authority throughout the empire; let his writings be everywhere committed to the flames. Shrink not from the path of justice. There is enough in the errors of Luther to warrant the burning of a hundred thousand heretics."

And Rome's great advocate concludes his oration thus: "What are all these Lutherans? A motley rabble of insolent grammarians, licentious priests, disorderly monks, ignorant advocates, degraded nobles, misled and perverted plebeians. How greatly superior is the Catholic party in numbers, in intelligence, in power? A unanimous decree of this illustrious assembly will open the eyes of the simple, show the unwary their danger, determine the wavering, and strengthen the weak-hearted. But if the ax be not laid to the root of this venomous plant, if the death-blow be not dealt against it, then I behold it covering Christ's heritage with its branches, changing the vineyard of the Lord into a howling wilderness, converting God's kingdom into a haunt of wild beasts; plunging Germany into the same wretched condition of barbarism and desolation to which Asia has been reduced by the superstition of Mohammed."

The nuncio's address was three hours in length, and his impetuous eloquence produced a strong sensation in the great assembly. There was no Luther there to reply with an eloquence and force of argument that would have annihilated this speech. The assembly was silent, and "in the first moments of agitation and excitement, it manifested a strong desire to root out the Lutheran heresy from the soil of the empire."

We are told, however, that this victory was in appearance only, and that a few days were sufficient to efface the impression produced by the speech of the nuncio. "It was the will of God," adds the historian, "that Rome should have an opportunity of displaying the utmost strength of her cause with her utmost skill. The greatest of her orators had spoken in this assembly of princes; he had said all that Rome had to say in her own behalf: but to many of those who heard him, this last effort of the papacy was destined to serve as a sign of its abasement. If the open confession of truth be required to secure its triumph, so also the unreserved exhibition of error is the necessary prelude of its overthrow. Neither of them can accomplish its course in secret. The light brings all things to the test."

DUKE GEORGE'S SPEECH.

THERE was another side. A majority of the assembly were ready to sacrifice Luther, while yet a majority also were desirous of a reformation of the Church, and for the suppression of numerous grievances which affected Germany, through the extravagances and lies of popery.

Nobly did Duke George of Saxony, though an enemy to Luther and his doctrines, nobly did he stand up in the dignified assembly, and enumerate with terrible minuteness and force the wrongs and abominations of Rome, and the distress and damage which they everywhere produced. He demonstrated the utter corruption of the system and its operations, and his speech closed with these remarkable words: "These are but a few of the abuses which cry out on Rome for redress. All shame is laid aside, and one object alone incessantly pursued: money! evermore money! so that the very men whose duty it is to disseminate the truth are engaged in nothing but the propagation of falsehood, and yet they are not merely tolerated but rewarded; because the more they lie, the larger are their gains. This is the foul source

from which so many corrupted streams flow out on every side. Profligacy and avarice go hand in hand. The officials summon women to their houses on various pretenses, and endeavor, either by threats or by presents, to seduce them; and if the attempt fails, they ruin their reputation. O! it is the scandal occasioned by the clergy that plunges so many poor souls into everlasting perdition. A thorough reform must be effected. To accomplish that reform a General Council must be assembled. Wherefore, most excellent princes and lords, I respectfully beseech you to give this matter your immediate attention."

This great speech occurred a few days after that of the nuncio; and it is recorded that Luther himself could not more forcibly or ably have expressed the abuses of Rome. Also the effect of the speech was all the greater from the speaker's well known opposition to the Reformer. The duke had long sighed for a reformation; but not being a gracious man, he desired it in a different form from that in which it was manifesting itself, and contemplated Luther as retarding, if not spoiling the whole affair.

The assembly proceeded to constitute a committee for the purpose of drawing up a list of popish grievances, and the enumeration

amounted to one hundred and over. Their report was presented to the emperor, with the earnest request that he would do what was just in so important a matter. "What a loss of Christian souls," said the committee to the emperor, "what injustice, what extortion, are the daily fruits of those scandalous practices to which the spiritual head of Christendom affords his countenance! The ruin and dishonor of our nation must be averted. We therefore very humbly, but very urgently, beseech you to sanction a general reformation, to undertake the work, and to carry it through." Well and truly was it added, that "the Christian community at this period was operated upon by an unknown power, which descended alike on princes and people; a wisdom from above, which exerted its influence even on the adversaries of reform, and prepared the way for that great deliverance whose appointed hour was now at hand."

Charles could not turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Diet, so utterly unlooked for either by the nuncio or himself. The result was that he immediately withdrew the edict for burning Luther's writings in every part of the empire, and issued an order in its stead, that all copies of those writings should be delivered into the hands of the magistrates.

THE SUMMONS.

The assembly now demanded Luther's appearance before them. "It is unjust," said his friends, "to condemn Luther without having heard him, and without having ascertained from his own lips that he is the author of those books which it is proposed to burn."

"His doctrine," said his adversaries, "has taken so fast a hold on men's minds that it is impossible to check its progress, unless we allow him a hearing. There shall be no disputing with him; and in the event of his acknowledging his writings, and refusing to retract them, we will all, with one accord, electors, princes, and states of the holy empire, in firm adherence to the faith of our ancestors, give your majesty our unsparing aid to carry your decrees into full effect."

The nuncio Aleander is greatly disturbed at this proposal. He dreads everything from Luther's presence before the Diet.

To those princes best disposed toward the pope, he addressed himself: "There shall be no disputing with Luther, you say; but how can we be sure," he continued, "that the genius of this audacious man, the fire that flashes from

his eyes, the eloquence of his speech, the mysterious spirit that animates him, will not suffice to excite a tumult? Already there are many who revere him as a saint, and his image is everywhere to be seen encircled with rays of glory, like those which surround the heads of the blessed. If he must needs be cited to appear, beware, at all events, of pledging the public faith for his safety,"

All the world seemed disturbed. Luther's name had been a watchword of startling interest in the ears of all the magnates of Christendom, then assembled at Worms.

At Wittenberg there was great dismay among his friends. They seemed to anticipate nothing but death. "O that God," said they, "would vouchsafe to make our blood the price of the Christian world's deliverance!"

Luther alone seemed at peace. Alone in his quiet cell, he applied to himself, with unutterable delight, the ecstatic song of Mary: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. For he that is mighty hath done to me great things, and holy is his name. He hath showed strength with his arm. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree."

The awful mandate comes suddenly, and salutes him in the midst of his quiet retreat. He

receives a note of the articles which he will be required to retract at Worms. "Never fear," he writes to Spalatin, "that I will retract a single syllable, since the only argument they have to urge against me is that my writings are at variance with the observances of what they call the Church. If our Emperor Charles sends for me only to retract, my answer shall be that I will remain here; and it will be all the same as though I had been at Worms, and returned again. But if the emperor chooses then to send for me, to put me to death as an enemy to the empire, I shall be ready to obey his summons; for, by Christ's help, I will never abandon his word in the hour of battle. I know that these bloodthirsty men will never rest till they have taken my life. God grant that my death may be laid to the charge of the papists alone!"

The following is a copy of the imperial summons addressed to Luther:

"Charles, by the grace of God, Emperor Elect of the Romans, always august, etc., etc.

"Worshipful, well beloved, and godly! Whereas we, and the states of the holy empire here assembled, have resolved to institute an inquiry touching the doctrine and writings which thou hast lately put forth, we have, on our own behalf and on behalf of the empire, issued our safe-

conduct, hereunto annexed, for thy journey hither, and return to a place of security. Our hearty desire is that thou shouldst prepare thyself to set out immediately, so that within the space of twenty-one days, fixed by our safe-conduct, thou mayest, without fail, present thyself before us. Fear no injustice or violence. We will steadily abide by our safe-conduct aforesaid, and we expect that thou wilt pay obedience to our summons. Such is our earnest injunction.

"Given in our imperial city of Worms, this sixth day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, and the second of our reign. CHARLES."

Gaspar Sturm was commissioned to repair to Wittenberg, deliver the summons to the Reformer, and escort him to Worms. "Thus," as says the historian, "the purpose of God was fulfilled. It was his will that this light, which he had kindled in the world, should be set upon a hill; and emperor, kings, and princes were all busily employed, though they knew it not, in executing what he had appointed. It is an easy thing with him to raise the meanest to dignity. An act of his power, operating through successive years, suffices to lead the offspring of a Saxon peasant from the lowly cottage of his childhood to that imperial hall in which assem-

bled sovereigns awaited his coming. In His presence none are either small or great, and when he wills it, Charles and Luther meet on the same level."

THE DEPARTURE.

STURM enters Wittenberg, presents himself before Dr. Luther, and delivers into his hands the emperor's writ of summons.

It is spoken of as an anxious and solemn moment for the Reformer. His friends were all panic struck. Hitherto not one of the princes, not even Frederic the Wise, had openly espoused his cause.

But Luther remained composed. "The papists," said he, observing the distress of his friends, "have little desire to see me at Worms; but they long for my condemnation and death! No matter. Pray not for me, but for the word of God. My blood will scarcely be cold before thousands and tens of thousands, in every land, will be made to answer for the shedding of it. The 'most holy' adversary of Christ, the father, and master, and chief of man-slayers, is resolved that it shall be spilled. Amen! The will of God be done! Christ will give me his Spirit to overcome these ministers of Satan. I despise them

while I live; I will triumph over them in death. They are striving hard at Worms to force me to recant. My recantation shall be this: I said formerly that the pope was Christ's vicar; now I say that he is the adversary of the Lord, and the apostle of the devil."

Luther is about to start. His weeping friends contemplate him as going, unless prevented by miracle, to meet his death. The amiable Melancthon, who loved Luther as Jonathan loved David, was especially affected. "Luther," said he, "makes up to me for the loss of all my friends. He is, in my estimation, greater and more wonderful than I know how to express. You remember how Socrates was revered by Alcibiades; but my admiration of Luther is of a higher kind; for it is a Christian feeling." And he adds the beautiful though simple phrase: "As often as I contemplate him, he seems to me, every time, to have grown greater than himself." "Would to God," added Melancthon, "I were allowed to accompany him!" But it was not permitted. Who would prosecute the work of reformation should neither of them ever return?

Yet Luther went not alone. The bold and vehement Amsdorff, who shrunk from no kingly assembly or any danger, determined to attend him. The mild and excellent Schurff was also by his side. Peter Snaren likewise, a young

Danish student, afterward famous in preaching the Gospel in Denmark and Pomerania, resolved to accompany his "father."

It was the 2d of April, the day of departure. Luther takes leave of his friends. Turning to Melancthon, he said with weeping: "If I never return, and my enemies should take my life, cease not, dear brother, to teach and stand fast in the truth. Labor in my stead, since I can no longer work. If thy life be spared, my death will matter little."

The great Luther then steps into the carriage furnished him by the town council. The imperial herald, in full costume and wearing the imperial eagle, takes his place in advance on horseback, followed by his servant. Next are Luther, Schurff, Amsdorff, and Snaren, in the carriage. The attendant multitude, to whom the Gospel was precious, in silent tears invoked the blessing of God upon Luther, and he sets forth from Wittenberg.

THE JOURNEY.

It was a singular journey, that of Luther to Worms. Let us note a few memoranda of what transpired by the way.

Gloomy presentiments filled the hearts of those

he met. At Leipsic all seemed silent, and no honors were proffered to him as he paused. At Naumburg a friendly priest warned him of martyrdom, by holding up before him in silence the portrait of Savonarola, who had perished in the flames in 1498. "Stand fast in the truth," said the priest gravely, "and thy God will never forsake thee."

At Weimar they heard the voices of criers on all sides, and messengers were proclaiming in the streets the imperial edict, enjoining all men to bring in the writings of Luther to the magistrates. "I will go on," said Luther, "though I should be put under interdict in every town."

Luther preached at Weimar, at the request of Duke John, brother of Frederic. Words of power flowed from his lips, and a monk, John Voit, was converted under the sermon, and was afterward professor of theology at Wittenberg.

Luther approaches Erfurth, and when within three or four leagues of the town, the rector of the university, and others, senators, students, and citizens met him on horseback, and welcomed him with joyful acclamations. Also a crowd of the population met him and cheered him as he was about to enter the city, eager to behold the mighty monk who had dared to give battle to the pope. As he enters the city, where he, in

other days, so often begged a morsel of bread, he is completely surrounded by the crowds on horseback and on foot.

He is invited to preach. This he had been forbidden to do; but the herald gives his consent, and the brother whose duty it once was to unclose the gates and sweep the aisles, now ascends the pulpit, while the crowds listen with profound attention.

"Christ has overcome! This is the great news! and we are saved by *his* work, not by our own. The pope teaches a different doctrine. But I affirm that even the holy mother of God is saved neither by her virginity, nor by her maternity, nor yet by her purity, or her works; but solely by means of faith, and by the operation of God." "Some perhaps will say, You talk to us much about faith; teach us then how to obtain it. Well, agreed. I will show you how. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, '*Peace be unto you. Behold my hands!*' That is to say, Look, O man, it is I, I alone, who have taken away thy sin and redeemed thee, and now thou hast peace, saith the Lord." "Believe the Gospel, believe St. Paul, and not the letters and decretals of the popes."

Thus Luther preached. Notwithstanding his very peculiar circumstances, there is not a word concerning himself, no allusion to his danger,

"not a word about Worms, the emperor, or the nuncios." He preached only Christ and him crucified.

It resembles a triumph as he proceeds along his journey. Every one seems interested, and a dense crowd accompany him. "You will be burned alive," say they, "and your body reduced to ashes, as they did with John Huss." "Though," replies Luther, "they should kindle a fire whose flames should reach from Worms to Wittenberg, and rise up to heaven, I would go through it in the name of the Lord, and stand before them; I would enter the jaws of the behemoth, break his teeth, and confess the Lord Jesus Christ."

Luther arrived at Frankfort. Accounts of his triumphant progress had already reached Worms, and the pope's partisans, not expecting he would obey the emperor's summons, would have given the world to prevent his reaching his destination.

At Frankfort Luther writes to Spalatin, announcing his coming. "I am arrived," said he, "although Satan has sought to stop me by sickness. From Eisenach to this place I have been suffering, and I am at this moment in worse condition than ever. I find that Charles has issued an edict to terrify me; but Christ lives, and we shall enter Worms in spite of all the

councils of hell, and all the powers of the air. Therefore engage a lodging for me."

History tells that there was great panic at Worms among the partisans of the pope. "The heresiarch was approaching; every day, every hour brought him nearer. Once at Worms, and all might be ruined. The Archbishop Albert, the Confessor Glapio, and all the political advisers of the emperor, were in dismay. How to stop the monk was the question. To seize and carry him off was not to be thought of, for he was furnished with Charles's safe-conduct; artifice alone could compass the end."

Accordingly a deep plan was laid to prevent Luther from finishing his journey. A troop of horsemen meet him for the purpose. "These horsemen," said the messenger to Luther, "belong to Francis Sickengen. He has sent me to conduct you to his fortress. The emperor's confessor desires a conference with you. His influence with Charles is unbounded; everything may yet be arranged; but have nothing to do with Aleander." The messenger urged. Luther's company was at a loss; but he never faltered for a moment. "I shall go on," he answered, "and if the emperor's confessor has anything to say to me he will find me at Worms. I repair to the place of summons."

As Luther approached Worms, Spalatin him-

self became alarmed for the safety of his friend. He heard it whispered around that his safe-conduct would be disregarded. Amid his apprehension he sends forward a servant to meet Luther, with a note saying, "Abstain from entering Worms." Luther, still unshaken, turned his eyes on the messenger, and answered: "*Go tell your master that though there should be as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on its roofs, I would enter it.*" And the messenger returned, and delivered the astounding declaration.

And Luther turned not to the right or left; but reached the city of Worms, and entered it.

THE RECEPTION.

It was a notable and splendid arrival when Luther came to Worms. All were expecting him, and scarcely any other thought seemed to occupy the minds of the citizens. As many as a hundred mounted gentlemen rode out from the city to meet him; and, surrounding the carriage, they escorted him to the gates, where a vast crowd was awaiting his coming. Entering the city, as many as two thousand persons accompanied the far-famed monk of Wittenberg along the streets. It is recorded that the people ran to the doors to see him; but the crowd increased

every moment, and was even greater than at the public entry of the emperor himself. And the shouts of the crowd were as the voice of many waters, as the procession made its way with difficulty through the people.

At last the herald of the empire stopped before the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes, and Luther alighted from his carriage. "God will be my defense," said he, as his feet touched the ground.

We are astonished as we ponder the effect which the arrival of Luther produced. The intelligence was received with alarm by the good elector, on the one hand, and by the violent and crafty Aleander on the other. The emperor instantly convoked his council. "Luther is come," said he; "what must be done?"

Modo, Bishop of Palermo, responded thus to the emperor:

"We have long thought of this matter. Let your majesty rid yourself at once of this man. Did not Sigismund bring John Huss to the stake? One is under no obligation either to give or to observe a safe-conduct in the case of heretics."

"Not so," said Charles; "what we promise we should observe and keep." It was therefore agreed that the Reformer should be heard.

Meanwhile the people gathered more and more densely around the hotel where Luther

had alighted. "Some had conceived an idea of him as a prodigy of wisdom; others as a monster of iniquity. Every one desired to see him. They left him, however, a few hours to recruit himself after his journey, and discourse with his most intimate friends. But as soon as the evening closed in, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and citizens flocked about him. All, even those most opposed to him, were struck with his courageous bearing, the joy that beamed in his countenance, the power of his eloquence, and the solemn elevation and enthusiasm which gave to the words of a single monk a sort of irresistible authority. But some ascribed this grandeur to a something Divine; while the partisans of the pope loudly exclaimed that he was possessed by a devil."

THE INTRODUCTION.

On the morning after Luther's arrival he was formally notified by the chief marshal to appear, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence of his imperial majesty, and of the states of the empire. Luther received the message with profound respect.

Thus the day long desired by the Reformer had come. He knew not what would be the

result to himself, but, to human appearance, there was much to apprehend.

On that very day came a letter from the bold knight, Ulric Hutten, whispering, in ancient words, to the ear of Luther: "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfill all thy counsel!"

Then he added: "O beloved Luther, my venerated father! fear not, and stand firm. The counsels of the wicked have laid wait for you; they have opened their mouths against you, like roaring lions. But the Lord will arise against them, and put them to flight. Fight, therefore, valiantly the battle of Christ."

But Luther looked not to knights and princes in this great hour. We must not wonder that, for a few moments, his faith appeared to falter, and his enemies to multiply before him, and the powers of darkness to prevail.

We are told that in this awful crisis his soul was "like a ship driven by a violent tempest, rocked from side to side; one moment plunged in the abyss, and the next carried up to heaven. In that hour of bitter trial, when he drank of the cup of Christ, an hour which to him was as the garden of Gethsemane, he threw himself with his face upon the earth, and uttered those

broken cries, which we cannot understand without entering, in thought, into the anguish of those deeps from whence they rose to God."

We have not space to record the prayer which from the soul's inmost depths was poured forth; but it was a prayer that discloses to us the man and the Reformation.

And the wrestler with God struggles again into life and peace. His prayer was heard; and when, at four o'clock, the marshal of the empire came to conduct him into that great presence, he was calm and firm.

First walked the herald, as they left the hotel. Next walked the marshal of the empire, followed by Luther. The streets were more thronged than ever, and became impassable; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that, by means of back ways and gardens, they reached the Town Hall. "The roofs and the pavements, above and beneath, all around Luther, were covered with spectators."

Arriving at the hall, the dense crowd seemed to preclude all entrance. "Make room!" was the cry; but no one stirred, and the imperial soldiers were obliged to clear a passage.

Entering the outer inclosure, all here, too, was crowded. More than five thousand spectators, German, Spanish, and Italian, thronged the antechamber and the recesses.

As Luther drew near the door, which was to admit him to the great audience-room and the presence of his judges, an old general, the hero of many battles, touched the Reformer on the shoulder as he passed, and shaking his head, said to him kindly: "My poor monk, my poor monk, thou hast a march and a struggle to go through, such as neither I nor many other captains have seen the like in our most bloody battles. But if thy cause be just, and thou art sure of it, go forward in God's name, and fear nothing! He will not forsake thee." "A noble tribute," adds the historian, "rendered by martial spirit to the courage of the soul. He that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city, was the word of a king."

The doors are thrown open and Luther enters. "Never had any man appeared before so august an assembly. The Emperor Charles V., whose kingdom extended across both hemispheres, his brother the Archduke Ferdinand, six electors of the empire, most of whose successors are now crowned heads, twenty-four dukes, many of them territorial sovereigns, and among whom were some who bore a name in after times held in fear and horror by the nations who accepted the Reformation, (the Duke of Alva and his two sons,) eight margraves, thirty archbishops, bishops, and prelates; seven

embassadors, including those of France and England; the deputies of ten free cities; a number of princes, counts, and barons of rank; the pope's nuncios; in all two hundred persons. Such was the imposing assemblage before which stood Martin Luther." It was a great triumph for Christianity, this appearance itself of Luther before that assembly. The following pregnant sentences of the historian sufficiently and beautifully portray this victory: "The man whom the pope had condemned stood before a tribunal raised by that very fact above the pope's authority. Placed under interdict, and struck out from human fellowship by the pope, he was cited in respectful terms, and received before the noblest of human authorities. The pope had decreed that his lips should be closed forever, and he was about to unclose them in presence of thousands assembled from the remotest countries of Christendom. Thus had an immense revolution been effected by his means; Rome was brought down from her seat, and the power that thus humbled her was the word of a monk."

desire his imperial majesty to allow me time, that I may answer without offending against the word of God."

The request was as sensible as it was judicious. He could have answered at once; but he would convince that august assembly and the world that his decision in a matter of so great importance, and in this solemn crisis of his life, was utterly unimpassioned and deliberate. While "his self-command and calmness, so unusual in such a man, increased his power a hundredfold, and enabled him afterward to answer with a prudence, a force, and a dignity which balked the expectations of his enemies, and confounded their pride and malice."

The seven orders of the assembly retired to their respective chambers, to deliberate; and they agreed, on reassembling, to grant the Reformer's request.

"Martin Luther," said the chancellor of Trêves, "his imperial majesty, acting in the goodness of his nature, consents to allow you one day's delay; but on condition that you make answer by word of mouth, and not in writing."

Whereupon the imperial herald steps forward immediately, and conducts Luther back to the hotel; and thus ended his first answer.

There were great agitations, gatherings, and

confusions as Luther returned to his hotel. It was rumored through the crowd that the pope had triumphed, and that the Reformer would fall a victim, and be brought to the stake. "If they dare attempt this," said some gentlemen, hastening to Luther, "it shall be at the peril of their lives."

It is said that Luther was, perhaps, the only person at Worms who was at this time perfectly undisturbed. Having retired from the Diet, he sat down, after a few minutes, and wrote to a friend as follows: "I am writing to you from the very midst of a tempest, [perhaps he alluded to the noise of the crowd outside of his hotel.] An hour ago I appeared before the emperor and his brother, and avowed myself the author of my books; and I have promised to give my answer to-morrow, as to recantation. By the help of Jesus Christ, I will not retract a single letter of my writings."

SECOND ANSWER.

Let us look in for a moment upon Luther as, on the next day, he is, in his privacy, preparing to stand again in that assembly of dignitaries, and render his second answer.

There, in great solemnity, he composed his

FIRST ANSWER.

LUTHER is standing in the midst of an assembly of sovereigns. It is said that some princes who were near him, and observing this humble son of a miner awed and affected in such a presence, approached him kindly, and one of them whispered: "Fear not them who are able to kill the body, and cannot destroy the soul." Another whispered: "When you are brought before kings it shall be given you, by the Spirit of your Father, what you shall say." "Thus," it is added, "was the monk strengthened with his Master's words by the great ones of this world."

Luther, as he stepped forward, found himself directly in front of the throne of Charles V. All eyes were turned upon him. Every sound was hushed, and there was profound silence. Said the marshal of the empire to Luther: "Say nothing until a question is put to you," and he left him. Then there was another solemn pause, when John Eck (not he of Leipsic notoriety) arose, and with a clear voice addressed the Reformer thus: "Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible majesty has cited you before his throne, acting on the opinion and ad-

vice of the states of the Holy Roman Empire, to require you to answer the questions, First: Do you acknowledge these writings to have been composed by you?" at the same time the speaker pointed with his finger to about twenty volumes placed on a table in the center of the hall immediately before Luther.

"Secondly," continued the chancellor: "Are you prepared to retract these works and the propositions contained therein, or do you persist in what you have therein advanced?"

The titles of the books having been read, Luther, without a faltering accent, answered as follows: "Most gracious emperor, princes, and lords! his imperial majesty puts to me two questions. As to the first, I acknowledge the books, the names of which have been read, to be of my writing; I cannot deny them. As to the second, seeing that it is a question which has reference to faith, and the salvation of souls; a question which concerns the word of God, the greatest and most precious treasure of heaven or earth, I should act rashly if I were to answer without reflection. I might say less than the circumstance demands, or more than truth requires, and so sin against that word of Christ: 'Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven.' Therefore it is that I most humbly

thoughts for the great occasion. "He felt that tranquillity of soul without which man can do nothing truly great. He prayed, he read the word of God, he glanced over his writings, and endeavored to give a suitable form to his answer. The thought that he was about to bear testimony for Jesus Christ and his word, in the face of the emperor and of the whole empire, dilated his heart with joy! The moment when he was to make his appearance was approaching. He drew near the table on which the volume of the Holy Scriptures lay open, placed his left hand upon it, and raising the other toward heaven, he vowed to adhere constantly to the Gospel, and to confess his faith freely, even though he should be called to seal his confession with his blood. This done, he felt the peace of his soul increased."

Luther is again ushered through crowds that resemble a sea of heads, into the presence of the emperor and the Diet. The chancellor broke silence, and said:

"Martin Luther, you requested yesterday a delay which is now expired. Certainly the Diet was not bound in justice to accede to your desire, since every man should be so grounded in his faith as to be able, at all times, to give an answer to those who ask him; much more one who is an eminent and learned doctor in the

Scriptures. . . . Now, therefore, answer the inquiry of his majesty, who has manifested so much indulgence. Are you prepared to defend all that your writings contain, or do you wish to retract any part of them?"

"Hereupon," say the Acts of Worms, "Doctor Martin Luther made answer in a low and humble tone, without any vehemence or violence, but with gentleness and mildness, and in a manner full of respect and diffidence, yet with much joy and Christian firmness."

"Most serene emperor, and you, illustrious princes and gracious lords," said Luther, turning toward Charles, and looking round the assembly; "I this day appear before you in all humility, according to your command, and I implore your majesty and your august highnesses, by the mercies of God, to listen with favor to the defense of a cause which I am well assured is just and right. I ask pardon, if by reason of my ignorance I am wanting in the manners that befit a court; for I have not been brought up in kings' palaces, but in the seclusion of a cloister.

"Two questions were yesterday put to me by his imperial majesty; the first, whether I was the author of the books whose titles were read: the second, whether I wished to revoke or defend the doctrine I have taught. I answered the first, and I adhere to that answer.

"As to the second, I have composed writings on very different subjects. In some I have discussed faith and good works, in a spirit at once so clear, pure, and Christian, that even my adversaries themselves, far from finding anything to censure, confess that these writings are profitable, and deserve to be perused by devout persons. The pope's bull, violent as it is, acknowledges this. What then should I be doing if I were now to retract these writings? Wretched man! I alone, of all men living, should be abandoning truths approved by the unanimous voice of friends and enemies, and opposing doctrines that the whole world glories in confessing.

"I have composed, secondly, certain works against popery, wherein I have attacked such as by false doctrine, irregular lives, and scandalous examples, afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men. And is not this confirmed by the grief of all who fear God? Is it not manifest that the laws and human doctrines of the popes entangle, vex, and distress the consciences of the faithful, while the crying and endless extortions of Rome ingulf the property and wealth of Christendom, and more particularly of this illustrious nation?

"If I were to revoke what I have written on that subject, what should I do but strengthen this tyranny, and open a wider door to so many

and great impieties? Bearing down all resistance with fresh fury, we should behold these proud men swell, foam, and rage more than ever. And not merely would the yoke which now weighs down Christians be made more grinding by my retractation; it would thereby become, so to speak, lawful; for by my retractation, it would receive confirmation from your most serene majesty, and all the states of the empire. Great God! I should thus be like to an infamous cloak, used to hide and cover over every kind of malice and tyranny.

"In the third and last place, I have written some books against private individuals, who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome by destroying the faith. I freely confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was consistent with my profession as an ecclesiastic: I do not think of myself as a saint; but neither can I retract these books, because I should, by so doing, sanction the impieties of my opponents; and they would thence take occasion to crush God's people with still more cruelty."

"Yet, as I am a mere man, and not God, I will defend myself after the example of Jesus Christ, who said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me.' John xviii, 23. How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and so prone to error, desire that every one should

bring forward what he can against my doctrine.

"Therefore, most serene emperor, and you, illustrious princes, and all, whether high or low, who hear me, I implore you, by the mercies of God, to prove to me by the writings of the prophets and apostles that I am in error. As soon as I shall be convinced, I will instantly retract all my errors, and will myself be the first to seize my writings, and commit them to the flames.

"What I have just said I think will clearly show that I have well considered and weighed the dangers to which I am exposing myself; but far from being dismayed by them, I rejoice exceedingly to see the Gospel this day, as of old, a cause of disturbance and disagreement. It is the character and destiny of God's word. 'I came not to send peace unto the earth, but a sword,' said Jesus Christ. God is wonderful and awful in his counsels. Let us have a care, lest in our endeavors to arrest discords we be found to fight against the holy word of God, and bring down upon our heads a frightful deluge of inextricable dangers, present disaster, and everlasting desolations. . . . Let us have a care lest the reign of the young and noble prince, the Emperor Charles, on whom, next to God, we build so many hopes, should not only commence,

but continue and terminate its course under the most fatal auspices. I might cite examples drawn from the oracles of God," continued Luther, speaking with noble courage in the presence of the mightiest monarch of the world; "I might speak of Pharaohs, of kings of Babylon or of Israel, who were never more contributing to their own ruin, than when, by measures in appearance most prudent, they thought to establish their authority! God removeth the mountains, and they know not. Job ix, 5.

"In speaking thus, I do not suppose that such noble princes have need of my poor judgment; but I wish to acquit myself of a duty that Germany has a right to expect from her children. And so, commending myself to your august majesty, and your most serene highnesses, I beseech you, in all humility, not to permit the hatred of my enemies to rain upon me an indignation I have not deserved."

Such was the second answer.

THIRD ANSWER.

As soon as Luther stopped speaking, the Chancellor of Trêves, spokesman of the Diet, said angrily:

"You have not given any answer to the in-

quiry put to you. You are not to question the decisions of the councils; you are required to return a clear and distinct answer. Will you, or will you not retract?" Luther then answered unhesitatingly: "Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear, and direct answer, I will give one, and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the pope or to the councils; because it is as clear as noon-day that they have often fallen into error, and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture or by cogent reasons; if I am not satisfied by the very texts that I have cited; and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience." Then turning a look on that assembly before whom he stood, and which held in its hands his life or death, "I stand here, and can say no more: *God help me.* Amen."

It is said that the assembly was motionless with astonishment. "Several of the princes present could scarcely conceal their admiration. The emperor, recovering from first impressions, exclaimed, 'The monk speaks with an intrepid heart and unshaken courage.' The Spaniards

and Italians alone were confounded, and soon began to ridicule a moral grandeur which they could not comprehend."

As soon as the assembly had recovered from the impression produced by Luther's speech, the chancellor resumed: "If you do not retract, the emperor and the states of the empire will proceed to consider how to deal with an obstinate heretic." At these words Luther's friends trembled; but the monk repeated: "May God be my helper! for I can retract nothing."

Luther, having stated this, withdrew, and the princes deliberated. The partisans of Rome were humbled, and they could not patiently submit to it. Luther was again called in, and the speaker thus addressed him: "Martin, you have not spoken with that humility which befits your condition. The distinction you have drawn as to your works was needless, for if you retracted such as contain errors, the emperor would not allow the rest to be burned. It is absurd to require to be refuted by Scripture, when you are reviving heresies condemned by the general Council of Constance. The emperor therefore commands you to say simply, Yes or No, whether you mean to affirm what you have advanced, or whether you desire to retract any part thereof."

Luther responded calmly: "I have no other

answer to give than that I have already given."

They understood him perfectly. "Firm as a rock," saith the historian, "the billows of the powers of the world had broken harmlessly at his feet. The simple energy of his words, his erect countenance, the glance of his eye, the inflexible firmness that might be traced in his rude German features, had indeed left a deep impression on the assembly. All hope of quelling his spirit had vanished. The Spaniards, the Belgians, and even the Italians were silent. The monk had triumphed over these powers of this world. He had said *No* to the Church and to the empire. Charles the Fifth arose from his seat, and the whole assembly rose at the same instant. "The Diet will meet again to-morrow morning to hear the emperor's decision," said the chancellor aloud.

Thus ended the final answer.

EFFECT.

Such was Luther's confession before many witnesses. "Thus spoke, in presence of the emperor and the chiefs of the nation, a single monk! and that weak and poor man, standing alone, but depending on the grace of the Most

High, shone forth grander and mightier than them all. His words came with a power against which the great of this world could do nothing. This is that weakness of God which is stronger than man. The empire and the Church on the one hand, an obscure individual on the other, have looked upon each other! God had gathered together these kings and prelates, to bring publicly to naught their wisdom. The battle is lost; and the consequences of this defeat of the powers of this world will be felt among all nations, and in all ages to come."

There were those in that audience who thirsted for his blood; yet to them and to all he spoke with calm dignity and humility. There was no exaggeration, no enthusiasm of the flesh, no irascibility. Amid the liveliest emotion he was in peace. His speech was without presumption, though withstanding the powers of this world; and full of grandeur in the presence of the great ones of the earth.

A powerful impression was produced on the chiefs of the empire. "The pope's adherents were provoked because Eck had not earlier interrupted the speech of the guilty monk. Several princes and lords were won over to his cause by the tone of deep conviction with which he had defended it. It is true with some the effect was transient; but some who then

concealed their thoughts, at a later period declared themselves with great boldness." The aged Duke of Brunswick, though belonging to the pope's party, sent to Luther, thirsty and weary with the great and trying events of the day, a silver vase, filled with Eimbeck beer. "My master," said the servant, as he offered it to Luther, "desires you to refresh yourself with this beverage. His highness himself drank of the cup before sending it to you."

Luther drank of the beer, and said: "As on this day Duke Eric has remembered me, may our Lord Jesus Christ remember him in the hour of his last struggle!"

The servant bore this message to his master; and when, shortly after, he was dying, he desired a youth to read to him: "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name, because ye belong to Christ," said the Saviour, "verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward." As he read, the beautiful and divine words were as balm to the soul of the dying man.

The good Elector Frederic was deeply affected during the great speech of Luther before the Diet. He rejoiced greatly at his firmness and success, and resolved from that time to protect the doctor more openly.

Said he to Spalatin: "O how Luther spoke

before the emperor and all the states of the empire! All I feared was that he might go too far."

Aleander, the nuncio, saw with dismay the effect that Luther had produced. There was no time to lose, and he deemed it necessary to urge the young emperor to vigorous and extreme measures.

The day following Luther's great answer, the emperor caused to be read aloud to the Diet the following message: "Descended from the Christian emperors of Germany, from the Catholic kings of Spain, from the archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy, who have all distinguished themselves as defenders of the faith of Rome, I am firmly resolved to tread in the footsteps of my ancestors. A single monk, led astray by his own madness, erects himself against the faith of Christendom! I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my power, my friends, my treasure, my body and blood, my thoughts and my life, to stay the further progress of this impiety. I am about to dismiss the Augustine Luther, forbidding him to cause the least disturbance among the people. I will then take measures against him and his adherents, as open heretics, by excommunication, interdict, and every means necessary to their destruction. I call on the members of the states to comport themselves like faithful Christians."

But the young emperor was too hasty. He had not observed the customary form of asking the opinion of the Diet; and two opposite parties began at once to show themselves.

Several of the pope's party demanded that Luther's safe-conduct should not be respected. Such a frightful proposal filled the elector and all Luther's friends with alarm. Even Duke George affirmed that the German princes would not endure the violation of a safe-conduct. "Such perfidy," he said, "befits not the ancient good faith of the Germans." The Bavarian princes, too, though attached to the Roman Church, supported this protest; and the prospect of Luther's death gradually disappeared.

In fact there were hundreds of noble knights ready with their swords to enforce respect to Luther's safe-conduct. "The popular enthusiasm, not merely in Worms, but even in the remotest towns of the empire, the intrepid courage of the knights, the devotion of several princes to the cause of the Reformation, altogether gave clear intimation to Charles and to the Diet that the course of proceeding urged by the Romanists might place in jeopardy the supreme authority, give birth to popular commotions, and endanger the very stability of the empire itself."

Accordingly, at the sitting of the Diet on the

following day, the infamous proposition of Aleander was rejected. "Luther was the object of much affection, and a desire was general to rescue this simple man, whose confidence in God was so affecting; but it was wished, at the same time, to save the Church. Men trembled at the foreseen consequences of either the triumph or the punishment of the Reformer."

NEGOTIATION.

It was proposed to make yet another effort with the doctor of Wittenberg. The emperor resolutely declined the proposal.

Luther had arrived at Worms, on Tuesday, April 16th. On Wednesday the 17th he met the Diet, and gave his first answer; on Thursday, the 18th, he gave his second answer. On Friday, the 19th, the emperor's message was presented, and the violent suggestions of the nuncio were made; and on Saturday those propositions were rejected.

On the following Monday, the 22d, the German princes came in a body to the emperor to request of him time for a fresh attempt with Luther.

"I will not go from what I have laid down," replied the emperor. "I will authorize no one

to have any official communication with Luther. But," added he, (much to the indignation of the nuncio,) "I will allow that man three day's consideration, during which time any one may exhort him privately as he may think fit."

It was all his friends asked; and they had great hopes that a private conference would prove more successful.

The noble Elector Frederic, who knew more of Luther, was well convinced of the contrary, and was full of anxiety. The next day he writes to his brother, Duke John, as follows:

"I would be ready to undertake the defense of Luther. You can hardly imagine how I am beset by the partisans of Rome. If I were to tell you all, you would hear strange things. They are bent upon his ruin; and if any one evinces the least interest in his safety, he is instantly cried down as a heretic. May God, who forsaketh not the cause of the righteous, bring the struggle to a happy issue!"

This most excellent prince, without betraying his warm affection for the Reformer, yet kept a constant eye on all his movements. It was different with the people of all ranks at Worms. "Their sympathy broke forth without fear or disguise. On the Friday a train of princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, laity, and common people, surrounded the

Reformer's lodging, entering and departing as if never satisfied with gazing on him. He was become the *man* of Germany. Even those who did not question his being in error, were affected by the nobility of soul which led him to peril his life at the call of his conscience."

One of these visitors was the young Prince Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, a youth of decided and enterprising character; wise above his years, warlike, and impetuous.

Deeply impressed by the sublime answer of Luther before the Diet, he wished to have a nearer view of him, though he was of the opposite party. He threw himself from his horse, ran up the stairs without ceremony to Luther's apartment, and addressing him, said:

"Well, doctor, how are you going on?"

"My noble lord," answered Luther, "I think all will end well."

The prince thrusts out his hand, and cordially grasping Luther's, exclaims: "Dear doctor, if you are in the right, may God be your helper!"

Then leaving the room, he jumped into his saddle and was off.

It was the Archbishop of Trêves, a stanch Romanist, and an intimate friend of the Elector Frederic, who, by the permission of the emperor, undertook to lead a further effort with Luther. At the residence of the archbishop, therefore, on

the morning of Wednesday the 24th, several prelates, nobles, and deputies were assembled, and among the rest the famous Cochlæus, who was there simply as a spy for the nuncio, and who was to repeat to the latter all that was said and done. Jerome Wehe was appointed spokesman of the company, and proceeded to urge Luther not to set up his judgment against that of the holy councils; insisting that unless we adhere to the Church there will be nothing but confusion. He protested to Luther that the princes present were in earnest to save him; but if he persisted he would be banished the empire, and then would have no shelter. Luther answers: "Most serene princes, I thank you for your kind concern, for I am but a poor man, of too mean station to look to be advised by such great lords;" and he proceeded to say: "I have not censured all the councils, but only the Council of Constance, for their condemnation of John Huss's doctrine: namely, that the Christian Church is the *assembly of those who are predestinated to salvation.* It condemed that article of our faith, *I believe in the holy universal Church;* and even the word of God." He added: "I am told that my preaching gives occasion of stumbling. I answer, that it is impossible to preach the Gospel of Christ without offense; why, then, should any such fear separate

me from the Lord, and that Divine word which alone is truth? No, rather will I give up body, blood, and life itself!"

The princes and doctors having deliberated, Luther was called in again, and was earnestly exhorted to submit to the judgment of the emperor, and then he would have nothing to fear.

Luther. "I consent with all my heart to the emperor, the princes, and even the humblest Christian's examining and judging of my writings; but on one single condition, namely, that they take God's word for their guide. Men have nothing to do, but to render obedience to that. My conscience is in dependence upon that word, and I am the bounden subject of its authority."

The Elector of Brandenburg. "If I understand you, doctor, you will acknowledge no other judge than the Holy Scripture?"

Luther. "Yes, my lord, exactly so; that is my resolve."

The party broke up and withdrew. Two or three remained, greatly anxious to succeed with Luther.

"Why," asked John Eck of the Reformer, "why continually appeal to the Holy Scripture? It is from thence come all heresies."

But Luther was unmoved as a rock. "The pope," said he, "is no judge in things pertain-

ing to the word of the Lord. It is the duty of every Christian to see and understand how to live and die." They separated.

The failure of the negotiation was communicated to the Diet by the Archbishop of Trêves. It is said that the surprise of the young emperor was only equaled by his indignation. "It is high time," said he, "to put an end to this business." The archbishop requested a delay of two days, and all the Diet joining in the request, the emperor consented, to the great disgust of the nuncio.

FINAL EFFORTS.

Then followed still other and more private efforts to move Luther from his steadfastness. Cochlæus burned with a desire to accomplish what kings and prelates had failed to effect. Dining with Luther at his hotel, he in a friendly manner urged him to retract. Luther shook his head. Several persons at table give vent to their indignation that the papists, instead of convincing the Reformer by argument, should seek to restrain him by force

"Well," said Cochlæus, "I offer to dispute publicly with you if you will forego your safe-conduct."

Luther would welcome most cordially a pub-

lic discussion, but to forego his safe-conduct would be to risk destruction.

The guests suspected in the proposal of Cochlæus nothing less than a stratagem of popery for delivering Luther into the hands of the executioner, and in their indignation they seized the terrified priest and hurled him out of doors.

The Archbishop of Trêves seeks another interview with the Reformer, and it is the same company that were present before. It was in the evening, and the prelate hoped that in the midst of private and pleasant intercourse, the parties might be more disposed to reconciliation. But the interview of the evening had no effect one way or the other. "Neither human applause nor any fear of man could shake the Reformer's decision. It was from above!"

Chancellor Wehe and Dr. Peutinger waited upon Luther at his hotel. The good elector sent two of his counselors to be present at the conference. Wehe and Peutinger were more earnest, at any sacrifice, to prevent the great schism which was on the eve of dividing the Church.

"This business," say they, "shall be concluded in a Christian spirit."

"I answer at once," said Luther; "I consent to forego my safe-conduct, and resign my person and my life to the emperor's disposal; but as to the word of God .... Never!"

One of Frederic's counselors then stood up, and addressing the two envoys, said, "Is not that enough? Is not such a sacrifice sufficient?" and then protesting he would hear no more, withdrew.

Then the two, hoping to succeed better with Luther alone, seated themselves at his side. "Submit to the Diet," said they.

"No," answered Luther, "for it is written, Cursed is he that trusteth in man."

They pressed him more and more. Luther, weary and disgusted, rises and signifies to them to retire, saying, "I will allow no man to exalt himself above God's word."

"Think better of it," said they as they left.

They visited him again presently with a new proposition—a General Council. Luther had only to accede to the offer, without entering into detail. "I consent," said Luther, "but on condition that the council decide according to *Holy Scripture*."

Thinking this a matter of course, they hasten joyfully to the Archbishop of Trêves, informing him that Dr. Luther will submit his writings to the judgment of a council. "The archbishop was preparing to communicate the intelligence to the emperor, when a doubt crossed his mind. He sent for Luther."

"Dear doctor," said the archbishop, with much

kindness of manner, "my doctors assure me that you consent to submit your cause without reserve to the decision of a council."

"My lord," answered Luther, "I can endure anything except to abandon the *Holy Scripture.*"

The archbishop saw at once that Wehe and Peutinger had not fully explained the facts. Never could Rome give her consent to a council which should take Scripture alone for its guide.

"Well, then," said the venerable prelate, addressing Luther, "let me hear your own remedy for the evil."

Luther was silent for an instant. "My lord, I know of none but what is found in that word of Gamaliel: 'If this work be of men, it will come to naught. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.' Let the emperor, the electors, and the states of the empire, return that answer to the pope."

The Archbishop. "At least retract some articles."

Luther. "Provided they be not those which the Council of Constance has condemned."

The Archbishop. "Alas, I fear it is precisely those."

Luther. "Then far sooner take my life; rather would I be deprived of my limbs than give up the plain and sincere word of God."

The archbishop at length understood Luther. "Retire," said he, still in a tone of much mildness.

"My lord," resumed Luther, "may I beg you to request his majesty to send me the safe-conduct necessary for my return whence I came."

"I will attend to it," replied the worthy archbishop; and they parted.

"Thus," saith the eloquent historian, "terminated these negotiations. The attention of the whole empire had been engaged by this man, and its urgent entreaties and direful threats had not caused him to stumble. His erect bearing under the iron hand of the pope was the means of emancipating the Church, and the commencement of a new era. The interposition of Providence was manifest. It was one of those grand scenes in history above which the majesty of God seems to rise and hover."

RETURN.

Shortly after his return to his hotel, the Chancellor Eck, attended by the chancellor of the empire and a notary, presented themselves.

The chancellor addressed him as follows: "Martin Luther, his imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and states of the empire, having

repeatedly and in various ways, but in vain, exhorted you to submission, the emperor, in his character of defender of the Catholic faith, finds himself compelled to resort to other measures. He therefore orders you to return to whence you came, within the space of twenty-one days, and prohibits you from disturbing the public peace on your journey, either by preaching or writing."

Luther was well aware that this message was the precursor of his condemnation. "It has happened unto me," answered he mildly, "according to the will of the Eternal. Blessed be his name!" He then proceeded. "And first, I humbly, and from the bottom of my heart, thank his majesty, the electors, princes, and states of the empire, that they have given me so gracious a hearing. I neither have, nor ever have had, a wish but for one thing; to wit, a reformation of the Church according to the Holy Scripture. I am ready to do or to suffer all things for obedience to the emperor's will. Life or death, honor or dishonor, I will bear. I make but one reservation—the preaching of the Gospel; for, says St. Paul, the *word of God* is not to be bound."

On Friday morning, April 26, Luther departed from Worms. All seemed eager once more, and perhaps for the last time, to say farewell to the intrepid monk. He felt that his sky was overhung with storms; yet as he passed out of

those city gates, his heart was filled with joy and praise. "Satan himself," said he, "kept the pope's citadel; but Christ has made a wide breach in it, and the devil has been compelled to confess that Christ is mightier than he."

This appearance of Martin Luther before the Diet of the empire must certainly be written as one of the sublimest eras in history.

"The day of the Diet of Worms," says the devout Mathesius, the disciple and friend of Luther, "is one of the most glorious given to the earth before its great catastrophe."

"The conflict at Worms," writes another, "resounded far and near, and as the report of it traversed Europe from the northern countries to the mountains of Switzerland, and the towns of England, France, and Italy, many seized with eagerness the mighty weapons of the word of God."

Luther left the city at ten o'clock, attended by his friends who had accompanied him to Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded the carriage, and a great crowd accompanied him beyond the walls.

On the following day the party arrived at Frankfort, where Luther addressed a pleasant note to his friend Lucas Cranach, the celebrated painter at Wittenberg: "My service to you, dear Master Lucas," said he; "I expected his

majesty would assemble fifty learned doctors to convict the monk outright. But not at all. 'Are these books of your writing?' 'Yes.' 'Will you retract them?' 'No.' 'Well, begone!' There's the whole history. Deluded Germans . . . . . how childishly we act! How we are duped and defrauded by Rome! Let the Jews sing their Yo! Yo! Yo! But a passover is coming for us also, and then we will sing Halleluiah! We must keep silence and endure for a short time. 'A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me,' said Jesus Christ. I trust I may say the same. Farewell. I commend you all to the Eternal. May he preserve in Christ your understanding and your faith, from the attacks of the wolves and dragons of Rome. Amen."

Luther also resolves once more to address the emperor, unwilling as he was to appear to him in the light of a guilty rebel.

"God is my witness, who knoweth the thoughts," said he, "that I am ready with all my heart to obey your majesty through good or evil report, in life or in death, with one exception—save the word of God, by which man liveth. In all the affairs of this life my fidelity shall be unshaken, for in these loss or gain has nothing to do with salvation. But it is contrary to the will of God that man should be subject

to man in that which pertains to eternal life. Subjection in *spirituals* is a real worship, and should be rendered only to the Creator."

He also wrote a letter to the states, nearly to the same purport; recapitulating what had transpired at Worms. This letter had great influence to excite the feelings of the German people against the emperor and the upper ranks of the clergy.

And Luther was proceeding toward home, receiving as he journeyed the most flattering attention from all classes. At Hirschfeld he was received in state, and escorted to the city. The senate received him at the gates, and thus "dignitaries of the Church opened their arms to a monk whom the pope had anathematized, and the higher classes did honor to a man whom the emperor had placed under ban of the empire."

At Eisenach Luther determined to proceed by way of Mora, his father's birthplace, accompanied only by Amsdorff and the wagoner, while the rest of the party continued their journey direct to Wittenberg. Having passed a day among his relatives, joyfully contrasting the pleasant tranquillity of the quiet village with the crowds and turmoil of Worms, he, on the following day proceeded on his journey, and as the carriage was passing a narrow defile, they

were suddenly encountered by five horsemen, completely armed and masked. Amsdorff and the wagoner were seized by two of the men, while the other three laid hold of Luther, in profound silence, forced him to alight, threw a knight's cloak over his shoulders, and placed him upon an extra horse which they had with them. Then the two in charge of Amsdorff and the wagoner unloosed them, and the five all sprang into their saddles, and in a twinkling the party and their prisoner were lost in the thick gloom of the forest. The driver and Amsdorff throwing themselves into the carriage drove with all speed to Wittenberg.

It was soon noised in the towns and through all the open country, that Luther was carried off. Some rejoiced at the report, but the greater number were struck with astonishment and indignation, and seemed to have given him up for lost.

Away amid the mountains of Thuringen, on a lofty summit reached by a steep and difficult ascent, and surrounded by dark untrodden forests stretching off interminably in the distance, stood the towering and isolated castle of Wartburg, where the ancient landgraves in the earlier times had established their retreat. Thither the five mysterious persons, by a circuitous and hidden path, conducted silently, yet carefully

and kindly, the astonished Luther. As they arrived the bolts were drawn back, the iron bars fell, and the gates opened. The Reformer passed the threshold, enters the inner court, the massive gates close upon him, and he is shut in! Then he is conducted to an apartment prepared for him. He finds a knight's garb and sword; his ecclesiastical dress is removed, and they array him instead in the knightly costume, enjoining him to let his hair and beard grow, and retired.

THE CONCEALMENT.

WHENCE this mysterious abduction of the great Reformer?

The reply in part to this question is, that it was the ordering of that inscrutable and all-wise Providence, which, amid all apparent discords and untoward circumstances, takes care of the cause of righteousness and truth. God would let his servant rest for a little; while, at the same time, he would show to the world that no human agent, however skillful and able, is necessary to him. "After the stirring conflict that Luther had been called to sustain, it had pleased God that he should be transferred to a place of repose and peace. After raising him on the dazzling

stage of Worms, where all the energies of the Reformer's soul had been roused to their highest pitch, God had prepared for him the obscure and lowly refuge of a prison. He draws from the deepest obscurity the frail instruments by which he designs to bring mighty things to pass; and then, when he has suffered them to shine for a while on an illumed stage, he dismisses them again to obscurity. The Reformation was to be brought about by other steps than violent struggles or public tribunals. Not thus does the leaven penetrate the body of the people: the Spirit of God seeks stiller channels. The man whom the champions of Rome were pitilessly persecuting was to disappear for a time from the world. It was needful that his personal greatness should be hidden in shade, that the revolution then accomplishing might not bear the impress of one man. It was fit that the man should be put aside that God alone might remain, to move by his Spirit over the abyss wherein the darkness of the Middle Ages was sinking, and to say, 'Let there be light!' in order that there might be light."

But who was the agent concerned in this strange capture and disappearance of Luther? Was it an enemy that did this thing, or was it some friend? Was it the outgoing of some malignant design and evil stratagem concocted

in some dark papal conclave, with a view to ridding the earth of Rome's mightiest and most dangerous foe? or was the abduction the result of some secret, admiring, constant, and powerful friendship—friendship as full of beauty as of goodness, and as noble as it was disinterested?

The discerning reader will hardly fail to detect the agency that was concerned in this transaction. He will surely recognize a friendly hand touching the secret springs of these strange movements, and the image of the most excellent and ever-to-be-remembered *Frederic* will not be absent for a moment from the thoughtful mind. Though history does not vouch for it, and though Frederic never revealed the secret, yet he it was whose heart conceived, and whose genius presided over the seizure of Luther's person, and bade strong and princely knights to capture and hide him away for a season. With an earnest vigilance that never grew weary did he watch the Reformer, and with an eye more keen and searching than the eagle's he followed every movement designed for his damage; while, like a guardian angel, he was sure to be on hand when most needed, and to be available and efficient in every emergency. More and more had he become convinced that Luther and the cause he espoused were right, and that his opponents and enemies were wrong; and stronger and

stronger waxed his determination to defend and protect him.

As Luther turned away from Worms to seek again his genial friends and pursuits of Wittenberg, the elector saw clearly that a darker tempest was gathering over the poor monk than ever before. In fact he saw that his fate was sealed, and that nothing less than a most decided and extraordinary effort would rescue him from the ruin which was preparing for him.

No sooner had Luther turned his back upon Worms than the nuncio procured an edict against him, to which was affixed the emperor's signature, and the seal of the empire.

The following is a true copy of this imperial document:

"We, Charles the Fifth, to the electors, princes, prelates, and all to whom these presents shall come.

"The Almighty having confided to us, for the defense of our holy faith, more extensive dominion and rule than he gave to any of our predecessors, we purpose to employ all our powers to preserve our holy empire from being polluted by any heresy.

"The Augustine monk, Martin Luther, regardless of our exhortations, has madly attacked the holy Church, and attempted to destroy it by writings full of blasphemy. He has shamefully

vilified the unalterable law of holy marriage; he has labored to incite the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of their priests; and, defying all authority, has incesssantly excited the people to revolt, schism, war, murder, theft, incendiarism, and the utter destruction of the Christian faith. . . . In a word, and passing over many other evil intentions, this being, who is no man, but Satan himself under the semblance of a man in a monk's hood, has collected in one offensive mass all the worst heresies of former ages, adding his own to the number.

"We have therefore dismissed from our presence this Luther, whom all reasonable men count a madman, or possessed by the devil; and it is our intention that as soon as the term of his safe-conduct is expired, effectual measures be forthwith taken to put a stop to his fury.

"For this end, and on pain of incurring the penalty of treason, we hereby forbid you to receive the said Luther from the moment when the said term is expired, or to harbor, or to give him meat or drink, or by word or act, publicly or in private, to aid or abet him. We further enjoin you to seize, or cause him to be seized, wherever he may be, and to bring him before us without delay, or hold him in durance until you shall be informed how to deal with

him, and have received the reward due to your co-operation in this holy work.

"As to his adherents, you are enjoined to seize upon them, putting them down and confiscating their property.

"Touching his writings, seeing that the best of food is held in horror by all men when the least poison is mixed therewith, how much more should such writings, wherein the main object is mortal venom, be not merely rejected, but destroyed? You will therefore burn, or in other ways utterly destroy them.

"As to the authors, poets, printers, painters, venders, or purchasers of caricatures or placards against the pope or the Church, you are enjoined to seize on their persons and property, and deal with them as may seem fit.

"And if any one, whatever may be his rank, should dare to act contrary to this decree of our imperial majesty, we command that he be placed under ban of the empire.

"Let every one observe this decree."

Thus was the secular excommunication added to that of the pope. "The emperor himself had spoken, and the Diet had ratified the decree." The whole body of Romanists shouted for joy, exclaiming, "The tragedy is over." "None could help seeing the imminent and inevitable danger in which the Reformer was placed, and

the superstitious multitude were impressed by a feeling of horror at the thought of that incarnate Satan whom the emperor pointed to as clothed with a monk's habit."

This, then, was the time for the good Frederic to act. The friend that sticketh closer than a brother was not asleep in this day of peril.

Frederic had caused it to be intimated to Luther, before he left Worms, that his liberty would be sacrificed to the anger of Charles and the pope. Yet this mysterious hint seemed to be all. Luther nor any one else knew what it portended, nor in what way the dark prediction would be verified. The seizure and disappearance of the Reformer, as above related, was doubtless this fulfillment. Frederic saw the frightful cloud and the glaring lightnings, and he heard the terrible thunders rolling heavily and near, and his anxious eye saw, without possibility of mistake, the poor defenseless man on whose head this awful tempest was about to fall with utter blasting and death, and he waited not. He caught up this poor man, and hid him. Yet was this done with consummate art, and a skill and wisdom were present in the movement commensurate with the benevolence and goodness of the contriver. The Reformer was so caught up, and so concealed, that neither friends nor foes knew where was the hiding-place. So

involved in mystery was the abduction, that even Frederic himself was for a long time ignorant as to whither his protégé was borne away. We may guess, if we choose, that the ignorance may have been voluntary, and we may guess, too, the motive that hindered those watchful eyes from resting upon that mountain retreat. We are suspicious that he assured himself of one thing, namely, that his charge was *safe*. Further than this he, for the present, asked no deponent to witness.

And thus was the great Luther spirited away from the stage of events, and his fate unknown. "Spring passed away; summer, autumn, and winter succeeded. The sun had run his annual course, and the walls of Wartburg still held their prisoner.

"Aleander was all confidence, and the Reformation appeared lost. . . . But God reigns! and the blow which seemed to bring to nothing the cause of the Gospel, will but serve to rescue his undaunted servant, and diffuse far and wide the radiance of faith."

PRISON LIFE.

LUTHER in the fortress of Wartburg! What saith the world? How fares he there? What are his feelings? What does he do?

It is said that all Germany was moved by the news of Luther's captivity. "Rumors the most contradictory were circulated in the provinces. Men's minds were more agitated by the absence of the Reformer, than they could possibly have been by his presence. On one side, it was affirmed that some of his friends, passing from the French territory, had carried him off, and lodged him in safety beyond the Rhine. In another place, it was said that assassins had taken his life. Even in the smallest villages, inquiries were heard concerning Luther. Travelers were questioned, and groups of the curious were assembled in the market-places."

Sometimes a stranger would recount how the Reformer had been taken off and murdered, and some affirmed that his body had been seen pierced through and through.

Meanwhile there was great lamentation. "Never more shall we behold him," said the crowd. "Never again shall we hear that bold man whose voice stirred the depths of our hearts!"

Luther's partisans, in their indignation, swore to avenge his death; and the Romanist party was filled with the most terrible alarm, and though at first jubilant at his supposed death, yet now they would willingly have hid themselves from the wrath of the populace. They who were so filled with rage when Luther was at large, trembled with fears now that he was in captivity.

It is said that Aleander especially was as if thunder-struck. "The only way of extricating ourselves," wrote a Roman Catholic to the Archbishop of Mentz, "is to light our torches, and go searching through the earth for Luther, till we can restore him to the nation that *will* have him."

"It might have been thought," adds one, "that the pallid ghost of the Reformer, dragging his chain, was spreading terror around, and calling for vengeance."

Meanwhile the edict of the emperor seemed to fall almost powerless, and the nuncios were transported with indignation as they saw it producing an effect so feeble. "The ink of the signature," said they, "has scarcely had time to dry, when, behold, on all sides the imperial decree is torn to pieces."

It is added that the populace "were more and more won to the cause of the extraordinary man who, without heeding the thunderbolts of Charles

and of the pope, had made confession of his faith with the courage of a martyr. It was said: 'Has he not offered to retract if refuted, and no one has had the hardihood to undertake to refute him. Does not that show that he has spoken the truth?'

"Thus it was that the first emotions of fear were followed at Wittenberg, and throughout the empire, by a movement of enthusiasm. Even the Archbishop of Mentz, beholding the burst of national sympathy, durst not give permission to the Cordeliers to preach against the Reformer. The University, which might have been expected to yield to the storm, raised its head. The new doctrines had taken too deep root to suffer by Luther's absence, and the halls of the academies were crowded with auditors."

But let us glance, for a moment, at the man himself.

The five mysterious men who seized and conducted him to that mountain fortress, christened him *Knight George* as they enrobed him in his new garb; and he seems to have remained unknown to nearly all the other dwellers of the Wartburg; and he writes to Melancthon that even *he* would scarcely know him, and would take him for a knight.

He passed a short time after his arrival in repose, enjoying a pleasant leisure after the great

conflict and anxieties which had just passed. He seems to have enjoyed all liberty within the fortress, though not allowed, for the present, to pass outside. Every wish was complied with, and never had he been better treated than here.

His thoughts were many but peaceful; he looked down upon the dark forests that everywhere surrounded him, and then, turning his eyes toward heaven, he exclaimed, "Strange captivity! a prisoner by consent, yet against my will." "Pray for me," he writes to Spalatin; "I want nothing save your prayers. Do not disturb me by what is said or thought of me in the world. At last I am quiet."

Thus, after the stirring conflicts that had disturbed his soul, the Reformer enjoyed repose in the heart of the gloomy forests of Thuringen. Here, too, he was rescued from the danger of being elated by success. Plunged into the depths of retirement, unknown to the world, his soul gathered up itself to God. It was good for him, after so great triumphs, to be tempered for a time by adversity, and be compelled to walk with the lowly. Thus it was that the principles of the Christian life thereby developed themselves in his soul with fresh energy and freedom.

Yet this beautiful quiet and rest was of no long continuance. Seated in solitude on the walls of the Wartburg, he passed whole days

lost in meditation. At times the Church rose before his vision, and spread out all her wretchedness; at other times, lifting his eyes to heaven, he would say, "Canst thou have made all men in vain?" Then letting go his confidence, he would add dejectedly: "Alas! there is no one in this closing day of wrath to stand as a wall before the Lord and save Israel!"

Then recurring to his own lot, he dreaded being charged with having deserted the field of battle. The thought was insupportable. "Rather," exclaimed he, "would I be stretched on burning coals than stagnate here half dead."

Transported in thought to Worms, to Wittenberg, into the midst of his adversaries, he regretted that, yielding to his friends' entreaties, he had withdrawn himself from the world. "Ah," said he, "nothing on earth do I more desire than to face my cruel enemies."

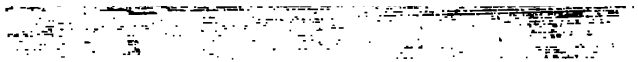
His health, too, declined in his confinement, and this circumstance doubtless increased the anxieties of his mind. At times, while sitting alone in his apartment, he would cry like a child; then there would be some lucid interval of praise and thanksgiving for the mercies of God.

Then again he would fall to reproaching himself with great severity. "Hardened fool that I am!" he would exclaim; "woe is me! my pray-

ers are few; I wrestle but little with the Lord; I bewail not the state of the Church of God; instead of being fervent in spirit, my passions take fire; I sink in sloth, in sleep, and indolence."

Yet the "indolence" of Luther seemed to be diligence beyond the strength of ordinary men. Even while complaining of himself as given to indolence and self-indulgence, "I am going," he adds, "through the Bible in Hebrew and Greek. I mean to write a discourse in German touching auricular confession, also to continue the translation of the Psalms, and to compose a collection of sermons as soon as I have received what I want from Wittenberg. My pen is never idle."

While his enemies deemed that he was silenced, they were confounded by the most unwelcome evidence that he still lived. "A multitude of tracts, composed in the Wartburg, followed each other in rapid succession; and everywhere the well-known voice of the Reformer was enthusiastically responded to. Luther, at the same moment, put forth such writings as were adapted to build up the Church, and controversial tracts which disturbed his opponents in their fancied security. For nearly a whole year, he, by turns, instructed, exhorted, rebuked, and thundered from his



mountain height, and his astonished adversaries might well inquire whether indeed there was not something supernatural in so prodigious an activity."

Though his health continued feeble, he wrote extensively; tracts against celibacy, indulgences, the monastic system, etc., proceeded in quick succession from his pen. In addition to these, he undertook the great and important work of translating the original Scriptures into the German tongue. This was an era in the history of the Reformation.

"Thenceforth it was no longer in the hands of the Reformer. The Bible was brought forward, and Luther held a secondary place. *God* showed himself, and man was seen as nothing. The Reformer placed the book in the hands of his cotemporaries. Thenceforward each could hear God speaking to him; and as for himself, he mingled in the crowd, placing himself among those who came to draw from the common fountain of light and life."

OVERTURNINGS.

LUTHER now longed to depart from the Wartburg, and his stay there had become insupportable to him. "Sometimes he remained all day lost in silent and deep meditation, and awakening from it, he would utter the exclamation, 'Ah! would I were at Wittenberg!' At length he could no longer restrain himself: 'Enough,' thought he, 'enough of policy.' He must again see his friends, hear from their lips how things were going on, and talk over all with them. True, he risked falling into the power of his enemies; but nothing could deter him.

"Toward the end of November, he secretly quitted the Wartburg, and set out for Wittenberg."

Disguised as a knight, he left the Wartburg, and commenced his journey toward Wittenberg. He arrived without being recognized. Immediately his friends were assembled, and what a meeting! The captive of Wartburg, for a brief space, enjoyed the sweets of Christian friendship. "He learned the spread of the Reformation, the hopes of his brethren, and delighted with what he saw and heard, he kneeled down and prayed, and gave thanks, and then

with brief delay, set forth and returned to the Wartburg."

Just about this time the principles of the Reformation began to produce their legitimate influence. The first attack seems to have been made upon the sacrament of *mass*.

"Christ," said the zealous monk Gabriel, who filled the office of college preacher at Wittenberg, "Christ instituted the sacrament of the altar in remembrance of his death, and not to make it an object of worship. To bow down to it is idolatry."

There was strong resistance to the monk from the prior of the convent, and from the professors of the university. But these last, undertaking to convince Gabriel, became instead converted themselves, and Melancthon proceeded to put forth fifty-five propositions, among which were such as these:

"As the sight of a cross does not justify, so the mass cannot justify."

"As the gazing on a cross is no sacrifice for our own or others' sins, just so the mass is no sacrifice."

"There is but one sacrifice, but one satisfaction—Jesus Christ. Besides him there is none other."

"Let such bishops as do not withstand the profanations of the mass, be anathema."

The monastic order was the next to be attacked as one of the main supports of the priestly hierarchy. The same Gabriel who had so nobly attacked the mass, soon came down with equal force upon monkery, and he insisted that no inmate of a convent keeps God's commandments.

"No one," said he, "who wears a cowl can be saved. Whoso enters a cloister, enters into the service of the devil. Vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to a superior, are contrary to the spirit of the Gospel."

The friars were astonished, and felt that it was all too true, and that the life of a monk was not agreeable to the will of God. And thereupon many monks left the convents, and applied themselves to industrial pursuits.

Thus great excitement was occasioned at Wittenberg. The *mass* began to be disregarded in the convents, and the more sanguine and imprudent were indignant that it should continue to be celebrated in the church, and proceeded to break it up by violence, and compelled the officiating priests to seek safety in flight.

The great Head of the Church was directing this movement, and shortly the *Lord's Supper*, regularly observed, took the place of the *mass* at Wittenberg.

Meanwhile several illiterate preachers who had come under the influence of the Reformation,

declined into fanaticism, laying claim to special and direct revelations, decrying the necessity of so much attention to the Bible, and asserting that the Spirit can enlighten us of itself, and speak to us, and that they actually have received the spirit of prophecy.

The preaching of these fanatics made a deep impression on the popular mind. "Not a few devout persons were startled by the thought that prophets were again given to the Church, and those on whom the love of the marvelous had most power, threw themselves into the open arms of the eccentric preachers."

Thus was the Reformation, in whose bosom this fanaticism arose, exposed to be brought into disrepute, and thus were these deluded men playing into the hands of Rome.

Luther in the Wartburg received intelligence of these movements with great concern. "I always expected," he said, "that Satan would send us this plague." Meanwhile Rome looked on with joy thus to see the Reformation confounded. "One more effort," said they, "and all will be ours."

And who could stand in the gap in this great emergency? Not Melancthon; he lacked age and firmness. Not the good elector; he was too pacific, and little inclined to oppose violence to violence.

"Luther, Luther!" was the cry in this day of danger. He had received numerous letters detailing the modes and the results of this fanaticism, and he seemed to appreciate its character as by intuition. He knew it to be evil, and only evil; and while it was no legitimate fact of the Reformation, he knew that it would be so represented.

Luther, contemplating these matters from his solitary home in the Wartburg, was sad, and his spirit was troubled within him. He determines to leave the fortress, and, in the name of Christ, go forth and meet this melancholy disturbing force that seemed to threaten great damage to the cause of truth and righteousness.

LUTHER ABROAD.

It was the 3d of March, about ten months after his mysterious capture and imprisonment, that Luther bade farewell to the gray turrets and gloomy forests of Wartburg. "He passed beyond those walls, within which the anathemas of Leo and the sword of Charles were alike powerless. He trod the path that wound to the foot of the mountain. The world which lay stretched before him, and on which he was once more about to appear, would soon perhaps ring

with the clamors of those who sought his life. It matters not. On he goes rejoicing; for it is in the name of the Lord that he is bending his steps toward the haunts of men."

Luther proceeded slowly in the direction of Wittenberg. Toward evening he encountered a terrific storm, and the roads were flooded. He came to Jena, and took shelter at the Black Bear.

Presently two Swiss students arrived at the hotel on their way to Wittenberg, being attracted thither by the renown of its university. Entering they saw a solitary man seated at a table, dressed in the habit of a knight, his head covered with a red cap, and wearing small clothes, over which hung down the skirts of his doublet. With his right hand upon the pommel of his sword, he was attentively reading a book that lay open before him.

As the students entered the stranger looked up, and saluted them courteously, inviting them to a seat at the table.

"You are Swiss, I perceive," said the stranger, alluding to their accent, "but from which of the cantons?"

Students. "From St. Gall."

Stranger. "If you are going to Wittenberg you will meet one of your countrymen, Dr. Schurff."

Students. "Could you kindly inform us where Martin Luther now is?"

Stranger. "I know for certain that Luther is not at Wittenberg, but probably he will be there shortly. Philip Melancthon is there. If you will be advised by me, apply yourselves to the Greek and Hebrew, that you may understand the Scriptures."

Students. "If our lives are spared we will not return without seeing and hearing Dr. Luther. It is for that purpose we have made the journey."

Stranger. "Where have you been studying hitherto?"

Students. "At Bale."

Stranger. "Is Erasmus still there? What is he doing?"

The students answered his questions, but thought it strange that a knight should be interested in such subjects. After a pause the stranger proceeds: "Tell me, my friends, what is said of Luther in Switzerland?"

Students. "Opinions concerning him are greatly divided, as is the case everywhere. Some extol him, and others pronounce him an abominable heretic."

Stranger. "Ay, ay, the priests, no doubt."

After supper, accompanied with much other interesting conversation, the stranger departed,

leaving the students delighted with his condescension and kindness.

That stranger was Luther, and he continued his journey toward Wittenberg. He was under the ban of the empire, and any one might seize his person, but he felt himself charged with a great mission, and he was calm, serene, and cheerful.

Yet he was not deceived in respect to his position. He knew that his sky was enshrouded with clouds and darkness. "Satan," said he, "is enraged, and all around me are plotting death and destruction. But I go forward to throw myself in the way of the emperor and the pope, with no protector but God above. Go where I will, every man is at perfect liberty to put me to death wherever he may find me. Christ is Lord of all! if it be his will that my life should be taken, even so let it be."

Arriving at Borne Luther sits down and writes a letter to the elector, explanatory of the step he was taking in leaving the Wartburg. We must give an extract or two from this epistle:

"I have sufficiently shown my deference to your highness, in withdrawing from the public gaze for a whole year. Satan knows that it was not from cowardice that I did so. I would have entered Worms, though there had been as many devils in the town as there were tiles upon its roofs. Now Duke George, whom your highness

mentions as if to scare me, is much less to be dreaded than a single devil. If what is passing at Wittenberg were occurring at Leipsic, [the duke's usual place of residence,] I would instantly mount my horse, and repair thither, even though—your highness will, I trust, pardon the expression—it should rain Duke Georges for nine days together, and every one should be nine times as fierce as he! What can he be thinking of in attacking me? Does he suppose that Christ my Lord is a man of straw? May God avert from him the awful judgment that hangs over him!

"Be it known to your highness, that I am repairing to Wittenberg, under a protection more powerful than that of an elector. I have no thought of soliciting the aid of your highness; and am so far from desiring *your* protection, that it is rather my purpose to protect your highness. If I knew that your highness could, or would take up my defense, I would not come to Wittenberg. No secular sword can advance this cause; God must do all, without the aid or co-operation of man. He who has most faith, is the most availing defense; but, as it seems to me, your highness is as yet very weak in faith.

"But since your highness desires to know what to do, I will humbly answer: Your elect-

oral highness has already done *too much*, and should do nothing whatever. God neither wants, nor will he endure that you or I should take thought or part in the matter. Let your highness follow this advice.

"In regard to myself, your highness must remember your duty as elector, and allow the instructions of his imperial majesty to be carried into effect in your towns and districts, offering no impediment to any one who would seize or kill me; for none may contend against the powers that be, save only He who has ordained them.

"Let your highness accordingly leave the gates open, and respect safe-conducts, if my enemies in person, or by their envoys, should come to search for me in your highness's states. Everything may take its course without trouble or prejudice to your highness.

"I write this in haste, that you may not feel aggrieved by my coming. My business is with another kind of person from Duke George, one who knows me, and *whom I know well.*"

This letter reveals the *heroism of faith*, and was truly pronounced "a wonderful writing," and the elector was deeply affected at its perusal.

After five days' journey Luther arrived at Wittenberg, to the great rejoicing of doctors, students, and citizens, all of whom felt that they

had now among them again "the pilot who could best extricate the vessel from the reefs by which it was encompassed."

"To reduce to silence fanatics in the energy of the first bursts of enthusiasm; to arrest the headlong course of a thoughtless multitude; to calm their spirits, and restore order, peace, and reason; to break the force of the torrent that beat against the, as yet, unsettled edifice of the Reformation, such was the object of Luther's return to Wittenberg."

And Luther, with all his impetuosity, set about this work with great caution and humility, and as a good pastor, a tender shepherd of souls. "It is with *the word* we must contend," he said, "and by *the word* we must refute and expel what has gained a foothold by violence. I would not resort to force against such as are superstitious; nor even against unbelievers! Whosoever believeth, let him draw nigh, and whoso believeth not, stand afar off. Let there be no compulsion. Liberty is of the very essence of faith."

EFFECTUAL PREACHING.

And Sunday came soon. And it was noised abroad in all directions that Luther had returned, and that he was to preach. He who for a year had been hidden from the eyes of men, was again to appear in the pulpit; and they crowd together, and the church overflows.

"Luther could comprehend the disposition of his hearers' minds. He ascended the pulpit. Behold him surrounded by the flock which had formerly followed him with one heart as a docile sheep, but which has broken from him in the spirit of an untamed heifer."

He proceeds with simple, noble, persuasive eloquence, as a father returning to his children, and examining their conduct. He commended what was good, and having secured their profound attention, approaches them more closely. And thus the great Luther preaches:

"It is agreeable to Scripture, say you, to abolish the mass. Be it so. But what order, what decency have you observed? It became you to offer up earnest prayers to God; to apply to the authorities; then, indeed, every one might have acknowledged that the thing was of the Lord. . . . . The mass is a bad thing. God

is opposed to it. It ought to be abolished, and I would that everywhere the supper of the Gospel were established in its stead. But let none be torn from it by force. We must leave results to God. It is not *we* that must work, but his word. 'And why so?' you will ask. Because the hearts of men are not in my hand as clay in the hand of the potter. We have a right to speak, but none whatever to compel. Let us preach; the rest belongs to God. If I resort to force what shall I gain? Grimace, fair appearances, apings, cramped uniformity, and hypocrisy. But there will be no hearty sincerity, no faith, no love. Where these are wanting, all is wanting, and I would not give a straw for such a victory!

"Our first aim must be to win the heart; and to this end we must preach the Gospel. Then we shall find the word impressing one to-day, another the next day, and the result will be that each one will withdraw from the mass and cease to receive it. God does more by the simple power of his word than you and I and the whole world could effect by all our efforts put together! God arrests the heart, and that once taken, all is won!

"I say not this that you should restore the mass. Since it is done away with, in God's name let it not be revived. But was it right

to go about it in such a manner? Paul, coming one day to the famous city of Athens, found there the altars of such as were no gods. He passed on from one to the other, observing without touching one of them; but he made his way to the market-place, and testified to the people that all their gods were naught but images, graven by art and man's device. And that preached word took possession of their hearts, and the idols fell, without his so much as touching them.

"I am ready to preach, argue, write; but I will not constrain any one, for faith is but a voluntary act. Call to mind what I have already done. I stood up against pope, indulgences, and papists; but without violence or tumult. I brought forward God's word; I preached and wrote, and then I stopped. And while I laid me down and slept, or chatted with Amsdorff and Melancthon over our tankard of Wittenberg beer, the word I had preached brought down the power of the pope to the ground, so that never prince or emperor had dealt it such a blow. For my part, I did next to nothing: the power of the word did the whole business. Had I appealed to force, Germany might have been deluged with blood. But what would have been the consequence? Ruin and destruction of soul and body. Accordingly I kept quiet, and let

the word run through the length and breadth of the land. Know you what the devil thinks when he sees men resort to violence to spread the Gospel through the world? Seated behind the fire of hell, and folding his arms, with malignant glance and horrid leer, Satan says, 'How good it is in yonder madmen to play into my hands!' But only let him see the word of the Lord circulating, and working its way unaided on the field of the world, and at once he is disturbed at his work, his knees smite each other, he trembles, and is ready to die with fear."

Who can sufficiently admire the wisdom, excellence, and beauty of these words? And they fell on that great assembly as the dew of heaven. On Tuesday he preached again; and also on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. The destruction of images, the distinction of meats, the institution of the Supper, the restoration of the cup to the laity, the abolition of the confessional; these were the topics that passed in review. Crowds filled the church continually. "Many came even from the neighboring towns and villages to hear this new Elijah." "Melancthon, magistrates, professors, and the whole population were overjoyed. Schurff, delighted with such a termination of so unpromising a state of things, hastened to communicate the intelligence to the elector. He

wrote to him on Friday, the 15th of March, after hearing Luther's sixth discourse. "O what joy has Dr. Martin's reappearance diffused among us! His words, through Divine mercy, every day bring back into the way of truth our poor deluded people. It is manifest that the Spirit of God is with him, and that his coming to Wittenberg is by his special providence."

Truly the result was wonderful. His moderation was his strength; and as he dealt in tenderness with the souls that had gone astray, there was no resisting the power of his eloquence. "At Luther's appeal difficulties disappeared, tumult subsided, sedition was silenced, and the burghers of Wittenberg returned quietly to their dwellings."

Gabriel Didymus, who had been the greatest enthusiast of all the monks, was healed by the word. "In listening to Luther," said he, "I seem to be listening to the voice of an angel rather than a man." He made public confession of his error. And Luther, at their request, met the pretended prophets, who had done so much to lead away the weak of the flock.

Stubner showed how he proposed to restore the Church and reform the world.

Luther. (After listening with great calmness.) "Of all you have been saying," replied he, at last gravely, "there is nothing that I see to be

based upon Scripture. It is a mere tissue of fiction."

Cellarius, in great wrath striking his foot upon the table, exclaimed against Luther's speech as an insult offered to a man of God.

Luther. "Paul declared that the signs of an apostle were wrought among the Corinthians, in signs and mighty deeds. Do you likewise prove your apostleship by miracles?"

"We will do so," rejoined the prophets.

Luther. "The God whom I serve will know how to bridle your gods."

Stubner. (Fixing his eyes on Luther.) "Martin Luther, hear me while I declare what is passing at this moment in your soul. You are beginning to see that my doctrine is true."

Luther. "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan."

The prophets, (in a great rage,) "The Spirit, the Spirit."

Luther. (In cool contempt,) "I slap your spirit on the mouth."

The outcries of the prophets are redoubled till they foam at the mouth.

The result was that the pretended prophets abandoned the field, and left Wittenberg that very day.

"Thus did Luther achieve the object for which he had left his retirement. He had taken his stand against fanaticism, and expelled from

the bosom of the Church the enthusiasm and disorder which had invaded it. If the Reformation with one hand dashed to the earth the dusty decretals of Rome, with the other it put away from it the pretensions of the mystics, and established on the territory it had acquired the living and sure word of God. The character of the Reformation was thus distinctly seen. Its mission was to keep constantly a middle course between these extremes, remote alike from fanatical distortions and from the death-like slumbers of the papal rule.

"Here was an instance of a whole population passionately excited, and misled to such a degree as to have cast off all restraint, at once listening to reason, recovering calmness, and returning to their accustomed submission, so that the most perfect quiet again reigned in that very city which, but a few days before, had been like the troubled ocean."

THE NEW VERSION.

ORDER being re-established, Luther turned his attention to the final revision of his translation of the New Testament. He had brought this translation with him from the Wartburg, and now, with the assistance of his beloved

Melancthon, he completed it. A complete edition of three thousand copies was shortly published at Wittenberg, entitled, "The New Testament, in German."

"The new translation, written in the tone of the sacred books, in a language that was as yet in its virgin simplicity, and now first opening in full beauty, interested and delighted all classes, from the highest to the lowest. It was a national work—the people's book—nay, much more, it was the book of God. Even enemies could not withhold their commendation of this wonderful production, and there were some incautious partisans of the Reformation so carried away by the beauty of the new version, as to imagine they could recognize in it a second inspiration. It, indeed, served more than all Luther's own writings to diffuse a spirit of Christian piety. The great work of the sixteenth century was now placed on a rock whence nothing could dislodge it. The Bible, restored to the people, recalled the mind of man, which had for ages wandered in the endless labyrinths of scholastic teaching, to the heavenly springs of salvation. Hence, the success that attended this step was prodigious. All the copies were quickly disposed of. In December following a second edition appeared; and by the year 1533 no less than seventeen editions had issued from

the presses of Wittenberg, thirteen from Augsburg, twelve from Bale, one from Erfurth, one from Grimma, one from Leipsic, thirteen from Strasburg."

Great was the eagerness of the people to read the word of God in their own language. "You have preached Christ," said they to the Reformer; "let us now hear him *himself*." And they are said to have caught at the sheets given to the world, as a letter coming to them from heaven.

"But if the Bible was thus joyfully welcomed by such as love the Lord Jesus Christ, it was scornfully rejected by such as preferred the traditions and ordinances of men. This publication by Luther was the signal of violent persecution. Rome trembled at the report brought thither. The pen which transcribed the sacred oracles was in truth that visionary pen which Frederic had beheld in his dream, reaching to the seven hills, and discomposing the pope's tiara. The monk in his cell, the prince upon his throne, uttered a cry of anger. The ignorant priests were dismayed at the thought that burghers, and even rustics, would now be able freely to discuss with them the precepts of the Lord."

We may consider the publication of the New Testament in the German vernacular to have been among the most important eras of the Ref-

ormation. "It wrought an entire change in the aspect of society, not alone in the priest's presbytery, not merely in the monk's cell and the noble's closet, but, more than this, in the interior of the dwellings of the nobles, citizens, and peasantry. When Christians began to read the Bible in their families, Christianity itself underwent a palpable change. Thence ensued changed habits, improved morals, other conversations; in short, a new life. With the publication of the New Testament it seemed as if the Reformation passed the threshold of the college, and took its proper place at the hearths of the people.

"The effect that followed was incalculable. The Christianity of the primitive Church was, by the publication of the Holy Scriptures, presented full before the eyes of the nation, recovered from the oblivion in which, for centuries, it had lain hid; and the sight was of itself enough to justify the charges that had been brought against Rome. The least instructed, provided they did but know how to read, women, artisans, [we are quoting from one of that age who was bitterly opposed to the Reformation,] studied the New Testament with eager delight. They carried it about with them, learned portions by heart, and saw in its precious pages the proof of the perfect accordance

of that Reformation, which was Luther's aim, with the revelation that God had given."

Meanwhile all possible was done by the adherents of Rome against this great work of giving the Scriptures to the people. Henry VIII. of England denounced the work. Duke George of Saxony commanded all his subjects to deliver up every copy of the version into the hands of the magistrate. All the states in the interest of Rome decreed likewise. Bonfires, composed of the sacred books, were lighted in the public squares.

But it was a vain effort; the people would buy and read the Holy Scriptures.

About the same time with the new translation appeared the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon, which was a system of theology founded simply on the Holy Scriptures. This, with some exceptions, was an admirable digest of Christian doctrine, skillfully drawn up, combining elegance of composition with a discriminating judgment and remarkable clearness of arrangement.

This work of Melancthon was a great joy to Luther, and to the last was to him a theme of wonder.

"The occasional sounds his trembling hand had drawn, in the deep emotion of his soul, from the chords of prophets and apostles, were here

blended together in entrancing harmony. Those solid masses of truth which he had hewn from the quarry of Holy Scripture were here raised and compacted together in one majestic edifice." He was never tired of commending the work to the attention of the youths who came to study at Wittenberg. "If you wish to become divines," said he, "read Melancthon."

It is recorded that from 1521 to 1595 the *Loci Communes* passed through sixty-seven editions, not including translations; and, next to the Bible, may have contributed mainly to the establishment of evangelical doctrine.

THE ROYAL POLEMIC.

The licentious, violent, and wicked Henry VIII. of England turned aside from his royal sphere, entered the lists of religious controversy, and wrote a book against Luther, and in support of the papacy.

This monarch was greatly indignant against Luther from the time that he first heard of him; and no sooner did the decree of the Diet of Worms reach England than he gave orders that the pontiff's bull against Luther's writings should be executed. They were accordingly, with great pomp and ceremony, devoutly con-

sumed in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators. And this very burning was the first announcement of the Reformation to the people of England.

Nor did he stop here, but wrote to the Elector Palatine: "Surely it is no other than the devil who, by the agency of Luther, has kindled this wide-spreading conflagration. If Luther will not retract, let himself and his writings be committed to the flames."

His famous book was entitled, "Defense of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, by the most Invincible King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Henry the Eighth of that name." The work seems to have attracted considerable attention, and many thousand copies were presently sold; while the extravagant praises lavished upon the effort added to the already insufferable vanity of Henry. He began to consider himself inspired, and henceforth could endure no contradiction.

"Luther read Henry's book with a smile, mingled with disdain, impatience, and indignation. The falsehoods and insults it contained, but above all the air of piety and contempt which the king affected, irritated the doctor of Wittenberg to the highest degree."

We are obliged to relate that, in his indignation against Henry he went beyond the bounds

of Christian dignity and moderation. "Persecuted, railed at, hunted down, wounded; the furious lion turned upon his pursuers, and set himself determinedly to crush his enemy. The elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, essayed in vain to appease him. They tried to dissuade him from replying; but nothing could stop him. "I won't be gentle toward the king of England," said he; "I know it is useless to humble myself, to compromise, entreat, and try peaceful methods. I will show these wild beasts, who are every day running at me with their horns, how terrible I can be; I will turn upon my pursuers, I will provoke and exasperate my adversary until, exhausting all his strength, he falls and is forever annihilated.

"'If this heretic does not retract,' says the new Thomas, Henry VIII., 'he must be burned!' Such are the weapons which are now employed against me: the fury and the fagots of stupid asses and hogs of the Thomas Aquinas brood. Well, then, be it so! Let these swine come on, if they dare; ay, let them even burn me; here I am, awaiting them. My ashes, after death, though cast into a thousand seas, shall rise up in arms, and pursue, and swallow up their abominable troop. Living, I will be the enemy of the papacy, and burned, I will be its ruin! Go then, swine of St. Thomas, do what you

will. Ever will you find Luther, like a bear upon your road, and like a lion upon your path. He will fall upon you from all sides, and give you no rest until he shall have ground your iron brains and pulverized your brazen foreheads!"

Luther takes Henry to task with great severity for citing the authority of the fathers, instead of that of the Scriptures. "As to me," said he, "I do not cease my cry of 'The Gospel! the Gospel! Christ! Christ!' and my enemies are as ready with their answer: 'Custom! custom!—Ordinances! ordinances!—Fathers! fathers!' '*That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God,*' says St. Paul. And the apostle, by his thunder-clap from heaven, at once overturns and disperses, as the wind scatters the dust, all the foolish thoughts of such a one as this Henry! Alarmed and confounded, the Aquinases, papists, Henrys, fall prostrate before the power of those words."

"To all the decisions of fathers, of men, of angels, of devils, I oppose," said he, "not the antiquity of custom, not the habits of the many, but the word of the Eternal God, the Gospel, which they themselves are obliged to admit. It is to this book that I keep; upon it I rest; in it I make my boast; in it I triumph, and

exult over papists, Aquinases, Henrys, sophists, and all the swine of hell. The King of heaven is on my side; therefore I fear nothing, though even a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, and a thousand such Churches as that of which this Henry is defender, should rise up against me. It is a small matter that I should despise and revile an earthly king, since he himself has not feared, by his writings, to blaspheme the King of heaven, and profane his holy name by the most daring lies."

Thus spake the unfriended Reformer. While we cannot excuse his violence, as being contrary to the principles and spirit of that Gospel he was defending; yet we cannot but admire his boldness and fidelity in the great cause of truth.

Luther's reply to Henry produced great commotion in England, and brought on him the most gross and vulgar ribaldry from that quarter.

As to Henry, he was confounded at being treated in the face of all Europe as a common writer, and seems to have forgotten that, in taking up the pen of controversy, he had placed himself on a level with other men of letters, and must submit to criticism accordingly. He forthwith abandoned the dangerous position he had assumed, and exchanged the pen of the theologian for that of the intriguer.

He at once dispatches an embassador to the elector and the dukes of Saxony, bearing a letter in which we have such gems as the following: "The true serpent cast down from heaven, even Luther," says Henry, "casts out a flood of poison upon the earth. He excites revolt in the Church of Jesus Christ, he abolishes its laws, insults the authorities, inflames the laity against the priesthood, both of these against the pope, the people against kings, and asks nothing better than to see Christians fighting against and destroying one another, and the enemies of our faith enjoying, with a savage grin, the scene of carnage.

"Therefore it is, most worthy lords, I feel obliged to exhort you, and even to beseech you, by all that is most sacred, promptly to extinguish the cursed sect of Luther. Shed no blood, if it can be avoided; but if this heretical doctrine lasts, shed it without hesitation, in order that this abominable sect may disappear from under the heaven."

It was of no use. While the great name of the English monarch seems to have given a zest to the controversy, yet its influence was also to conciliate general favor toward Luther.

In fact an immense movement was in progress. The Reformation was breaking forth on all sides in the empire, and even throughout Christendom.

PROSPERITY.

Luther was now permitted to see great success in the evangelical movement. He had only just "left the Wartburg. The pope had excommunicated all his adherents; the Imperial Diet had just condemned his doctrine; the princes were active in putting it down throughout the greatest part of the German states; the Romish priests were setting the public against it by their violent invective; foreign nations were requiring that Germany should sacrifice a man whose attacks were formidable even at a distance; and yet this new sect, few in number, and among whose members there was no organization, no acting in concert, nothing, in short, of concentrated power, was already, by the energy of the faith engaged in it, and the rapidity of its conquests of the minds of men, beginning to cause alarm to the vast, ancient, and powerful sovereignty of Rome. Everywhere was to be seen, as in the first appearance of spring-time, the seed bursting from the earth spontaneously and without effort. Every day some progress might be remarked. Individuals, village populations, country towns, nay, large cities joined in this new confession of the name of Jesus Christ.

It was met by strong opposition and fierce persecution; but the mysterious power which animated the people was irresistible, and though persecuted, they still went forward, facing the terrors of exile, imprisonment, or the stake, and were everywhere more than conquerors over their persecutors."

The monastic orders were bursting their fetters in various directions, and returning to the faith of Christ. "A Franciscan, begging his way, one day presented himself, box in hand, at a blacksmith's shop in Nuremberg. 'Why don't you get your bread by working with your own hands!' inquired the blacksmith. Thus invited, the sturdy monk, tossing from him his habit, lifted the hammer and brought it down again with force upon the anvil. Behold the useless mendicant transformed into the industrious workman! The box and monk's gown were sent back to the monastery."

But it was not the monks only; for also "a great number of the priests were obedient to the faith."

Meanwhile the writings of Luther were read in city, borough, and hamlet; and the readers, impressed with what they read, consulted the Scriptures to relieve their uncertainty, and noted there the great contrast between the Christianity of the Bible and that of Rome.

At the same time preaching became common, the preaching of the simple Gospel, and it went forth with uncommon power. Many priests were deserted or driven off, "pronouncing maledictions as they took leave of their former flocks."

In some places persecution compels the favorers of the Reformation to abandon their homes; and these, like the primitive disciples, under similar circumstances, go "everywhere, preaching the word." Sometimes they find admittance to the churches, or, if driven from these, they preach to large multitudes under shade trees or elsewhere. To them every place became a temple, and the word spread, and none could stay its progress. Simple Christians were often seen with the New Testament in their hands, offering to justify the doctrine of the Reformation, while "women, children, citizens, and soldiers, had acquired a greater knowledge of the Bible than learned doctors and surpliced priests."

Thus "the ancient structure of the Church was tottering under the weight of superstition and ignorance, while the new edifice was rising from its foundations of faith and learning. The elements of a new life were diffused among the general body of the people. Listless dullness was everywhere succeeded by an inquiring disposition and a thirst for information. An active,

enlivened, and living faith took the place of superstitious piety and ascetic meditations. Works of true devotedness superseded mere outward observance and penances. The pulpit prevailed over the mummeries of the altar, and the ancient supreme authority of God's word was at length re-established in the Church."

Then the art of printing came in as a mighty auxiliary of these efforts, and the Reformation gave a prodigious impulse to the popular literature of Germany. "While the year 1513 saw only thirty-five publications, and the year 1517 only thirty-seven, the number of books increased with astonishing rapidity after the appearance of Luther's theses. We find in 1518, seventy-one various publications recorded; in 1519, one hundred and eleven; in 1520, two hundred and eight; in 1521, two hundred and eleven; in 1522, three hundred and forty-seven; in 1523, four hundred and forty-eight.

"And where were all these books published? Almost invariably at Wittenberg. And who was the author of them? For the most part, Luther. The year 1522 saw one hundred and thirty publications from the pen of the Reformer alone, and the following year one hundred and eighty-three, while, in this latter year, the total number of Roman Catholic publications amounted to but twenty."

And whatever Luther and his friends published was rapidly and extensively disseminated. Monks who had been led to see the unlawfulness of the monastic obligations, and desirous of exchanging a life of indolence for one of activity, but too ignorant to be able themselves to proclaim the word of God, traversed the provinces, and visiting the hamlets and cottages, sold the writings of Luther and his friends. Germany was ere long overrun by these enterprising colporteurs. Printers and booksellers eagerly received whatever writings were directed to the defense of the Reformation, but would not look at those of the opposite party as savoring generally of ignorance and barbarism.

And the writings of Luther, notwithstanding severe fulminations against them, were translated into French, Spanish, English, and Italian, and circulated extensively in those nations.

"In contemplating these happy results, Luther felt his confidence increased. He had seen a feeble effort, begun amid so many fears and struggles, change the face of the Christian world. And he himself was astonished at a result which he never anticipated when he first entered the lists against Tetzel. Prostrate before the God whom he adored, he confessed that the work was His, and he rejoiced in the assurance of victory which no power could prevent.

"'Our enemies threaten us with death,' said he. 'If their wisdom were equal to their folly, it is with life they would threaten us. What an absurdity and insult it is to affect to denounce death against Christ and Christians, who are themselves the conquerors of death! It is as if I should seek to affright a rider by saddling his courser and helping him to mount. Do they not know that Christ is raised from the dead? So far as they see, he is yet lying in the grave, nay, even in hell. But we know that he lives.'

"He was grieved whenever he thought that any one should look upon him as the author of a work of which the most minute details disclosed to him the finger of God. 'Some there are,' said he, 'who believe because *I* believe; but they only truly believe who would continue faithful, even though they should hear (which may God forbid!) that I had denied Christ. True disciples believe—not in Luther, but—in Jesus Christ. Even I myself care but little for Luther. Let him be counted a saint or a cheat, what care I? It is not him that I preach; it is Christ. If the devil can seize Luther, let him do so! But let Christ abide with us, and we shall abide also.'"

COLLATERAL INFLUENCES.

LUTHER understood the connection between true religion and sound learning, and he was aware that a genuine Reformation must develop the whole man. He therefore taught that while men's piety should be regulated by the word of God, their understanding should be enlightened by the study of sacred and profane literature.

Thus he saw clearly that, to consolidate the Reformation, he must work on the minds of the rising generation, remodel the schools, and propagate throughout Christendom the knowledge necessary for a deep study of the Holy Scriptures. This, therefore, was one of the objects of his life.

Accordingly we find him thus writing to the counselors of all the towns in Germany, urging them to found Christian schools:

"DEAR SIRS,—So much money is annually expended in arquebuses, making roads, and constructing dykes, how is it that a little is not expended in paying one or two schoolmasters to instruct our poor children? God stands at the door and knocks; blessed are we if we open to him! Nowadays there is no famine of God's word. My dear countrymen, buy, buy while

the market is opened before your dwellings. The word of God and his grace resembles a shower which falls and passes on. It fell among the Jews, but it passed away, and now they have it no longer. Paul bore it with him to Greece, but there also it is past, and Mohammedanism prevails in its place. It came to Rome and the Latin territories, but from thence it has likewise departed, and now Rome has the pope. O Germans, think not that you will never have that word taken away from you. The little value you put upon it will cause it to be withdrawn. Therefore he who would have it, must lay hold upon and keep it. . . . . The true wellbeing of a town, its security and strength, is to number within it many learned, kind, serious, and well-educated citizens. And who is to blame that there are found in our days so few of this stamp, but you, magistrates, who have suffered our youth to grow up like the neglected growth of a forest."

On the necessity of studying literature and languages, Luther insists as follows:

"We are asked what is the use of learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, when we can read the Bible in German? But for the languages we should never have received the Gospel. Languages are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit is found. They are the casket

which holds the jewels. They are the vessels which contain the new wine. They are the baskets which contain the loaves and fishes which are to feed the multitude. If we cease to study languages, we shall not only lose the Gospel, but eventually we shall be unable either to speak or write in Latin or German. From the hour we throw them aside, Christianity may date its decline, even to falling again under the dominion of the pope. But now that languages are once more held in estimation, they diffuse such light that all mankind are astonished, and that every one may see that the Gospel we preach is almost as pure as that of the apostles themselves. The holy fathers of other days made many mistakes by reason of their ignorance of language. In our time some, like the Vaudois of Piedmont, do not attach value to the study of them; but though their doctrine may be sound, they often fail of the real meaning of the sacred text. They are without a safeguard against error, and I much fear that their faith will not continue pure. If a knowledge of languages had not given me the certainty of the true sense of the word, I might have been a pious monk, quietly preaching the truth in the obscurity of the cloister, but I should have left pope, sophists, and their antichristian power in the ascendant."

Nor was the attention of Luther confined to the education of ecclesiastics; he proposed to extend it to all classes; suggested the establishment of libraries furnished with the productions of the best authors on eloquence, poetry, literature, law, medicine, and history. "Such writings," he adds, "are of use to make known the wonderful works of God."

Thus the Reformation communicated a mighty impulse to literature and learning. It also exerted an influence in promoting the development of the arts; and especially *singing*, as a part of religious worship.

Luther was a great lover of music. "Next to theology," said he, "it is to *music* that I give the highest place and the greatest honor. A schoolmaster ought to know how to sing. Without this qualification I would have nothing to do with him."

One day, hearing some fine music, he exclaimed in transport: "If our Lord God hath shed forth such wondrous gifts on this earth, which is no better than a dark nook, what may we not expect in that eternal life in which we shall be perfected!"

"From the days of Luther," adds the historian, "the congregated worshipers have taken part in the singing; the Bible has been the great theme of their songs, and the impulse

communicated at that period of the Reformation has more recently produced those noble oratorios which have carried the art to its highest point of attainment."

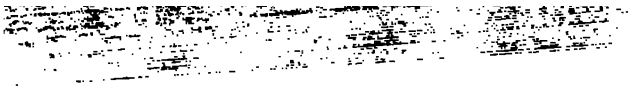
Poetry, too, participated in the great movement, and it is to the Reformation that "the great poets of England, Germany, and perhaps of France, are indebted for the highest flights of their muse."

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

In one of the monasteries of Saxony there were residing, in 1523, nine nuns, who, by the reading of the Holy Scriptures, had discovered the contrast between the Christian life and the daily routine of their cloister. They wrote to their relatives, asserting that their continuance in a cloister was incompatible with the salvation of their souls.

Their parents, dreading the consequences of their leaving their cloister, repelled harshly the entreaties of their children. The poor nuns were filled with distress. How to leave the nunnery they knew not, and their fears were alarmed at so desperate a decision.

At last, in their horror at the papal services, they determined to make their escape, mutually



promising to remain together, and endeavor to find their way to some place of respectability. Two pious citizens came to their assistance, whom the nuns welcomed as being sent by the special providence of God. They quitted the convent without hinderance, as if the Lord had miraculously set open the gates. Their two friends were waiting to receive them with a commodious wagon, and on the seventh of April the nine nuns, amazed at their boldness, drew up in deep emotion at the gate of the old Convent of the Augustines, where Luther resided.

Luther received them cordially, saying, as they entered the door: "Would to God I could in this way give liberty to enslaved consciences, and empty the cloisters!" The nuns were provided with respectable homes among the citizens of Wittenberg.

Catharine Bora was the name of one of these young ladies. She is represented as having been beautiful in person, possessed of excellent sense, and a devoted Christian. It appears doubtful whether Luther had, at first, any special affection for Catharine. This is corroborated by his efforts to marry her to two other persons, neither of whom she fancied. But it was in the course of negotiations in behalf of others for her hand, that he received an intima-

tion that were *himself* the suitor there might be more encouragement.

It is certain, however, amid those dark and uncertain times, he did not consider himself a candidate for marriage. It was not that he doubted the righteousness of such a step; for it was his powerful and conclusive reasoning against celibacy that had convinced these nine nuns, as well as a multitude of others; and his profound knowledge of the Gospel had long ago taught him that "marriage is honorable in all." To those who spoke to him of marriage he replied: "God may change my purpose, if such be his pleasure; but, at present, I have no thought of taking a wife; not that I am insensible to the charms of a married life; I am neither wood nor stone; but I every day expect death, and the punishment of a heretic."

There seemed to be one thought, however, that impressed him deeply. "Marriage," said he, "is God's appointment, celibacy is man's;" and he abhorred whatever bore the impress of Rome. "I desire," he says, "to have nothing left of my papistic life."

Yet Luther continued in a state of uncertainty in respect to what he ought to do, until the thought recurred to him with great power that, however it might be with him as *a man*, he was called to marriage as *a Reformer*.

"If that monk marries," said Schurff, "he will cause men and devils to shout with laughter, and bring ruin upon all that he has hitherto effected."

If this remark was designed to deter Luther from marriage, its effect was the exact reverse of what was intended. "To brave the world, the devil, and his enemies, and, by an act in man's judgment the most likely to ruin the Reformation, make it evident that its triumph was not to be ascribed to him, was the very thing he most of all desired; accordingly, lifting up his head he boldly replied: "I will do it! I will play this trick to the world and to the devil! I'll content my father, and marry Catharine."

Afterward he adds: "I am determined to bear witness to the Gospel, not by my words alone, but by my actions. I am determined, in the face of my enemies, who are already exulting and triumphing over me, to marry a nun that they may know that they have not conquered me. I do not take a wife that I may live long with her; but seeing people and princes letting loose their fury against me; in the prospect of death, and of their again trampling my doctrine under foot, I am resolved to edify the weak by leaving on record a striking confirmation of the truth of what I have taught."

Thus Luther decided, and with him to decide was to act, and he astonished all his friends, and Catharine herself, by his precipitancy.

"On Tuesday, June 13, 1525, he took with him his three friends, Dr. Bugenhagen, or Pomeranus, at that time town preacher of Wittenberg, the lawyer Apell, and Lucas Cranach, a painter; proceeded to Reichenbach's house, where Catharine at that time resided, and there and then, without previous formal courtship, and in presence of his friends, asked her in marriage. She thought, at first, he was in jest. Finding he was in earnest, she, without asking time to consider, with maiden modesty at once gave her consent. A formal betrothal followed, and on the same day the marriage was solemnized. At this time Catharine was in her twenty-sixth year while Luther was forty-two. A marriage feast in the evening closed the ceremonies of the day."

There was great tumult at the marriage of Luther, and all Christendom was aroused at the intelligence. Accusations and calumnies came in upon him on all sides. "It is incest," exclaimed Henry VIII., that paragon of purity. "A monk has married a vestal!" exclaimed some in great horror. "Antichrist must be the fruit of such a union;" exclaimed others.

To this last Erasmus answered bitterly: "If

the prophecy be true, what thousands of anti-christs the world has before now seen!"

But while his enemies assailed him with so much ferocity, his friends sustained and approved him. Melancthon shall speak for the whole: "If it is asserted that there has been anything unbecoming in the affair of Luther's marriage, it is a false slander. It is my opinion that in marrying he must have done violence to his inclination. The marriage state, I allow, is one of humility; but it is also one of sanctity, if there be any sanctity in this world; and the Scriptures everywhere speak of it as honorable in the sight of God."

The marriage of Luther proved, as might be expected, a union of great happiness. "The greatest of earthly blessings," said he, "is a pious and amiable wife, who fears God and loves her family; one with whom a man may live in peace, and in whom he may repose perfect confidence."

The influence of this marriage upon Luther was every way favorable. He acquired more playfulness of manner and cheerfulness of spirits from the society of his Catharine. "The charms of domestic life soon dispelled the dark clouds raised around by the wrath of his adversaries. His Ketha, as he called her, manifested toward him the tenderest affection, comforting him when cast down by reciting passages of the Bible

relieving him from the cares of the household, sitting by him in his intervals of leisure, while she worked his portrait in embroidery, or reminded him of the friends he had neglected to write to, and amused him by the simplicity of her questions."

LUTHER AND ERASMUS.

Erasmus has been already introduced to these pages. He was the great scholar of his time, the arbiter of taste, and the counselor of princes. He saw as clearly as Luther the corruption of the Roman Church, and the great necessity of a reformation, and he could not otherwise than conscientiously approve many of the efforts of Luther and others toward reform.

But Erasmus was not a man of *faith*. He was politic rather than noble, a manager rather than a reformer. He consulted his own interest rather than the true welfare of the world; was more solicitous for his own reputation than for the advancement of great public interests, and loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. He was one of that class who see and admire the right without the courage to pursue and adhere to it. Lacking the ardent faith and devotion of Luther, he was, with all his eminent

genius and elegant scholarship, a graceful and beautiful form, perfect in all respects save the presence of a *backbone.* Thus he might be competent to please and adorn; but was powerless for the performance of any great enterprise of good. While he had some favor for the Reformation, he had not sufficient nerve to come out boldly and espouse its interests. He loved the flatteries and smiles of the great too well to forfeit them for their reproach and scorn. Luther, meanwhile, appreciated the character of the great Erasmus, and while he venerated him for his scholarship and extensive reputation and influence, he well knew that with all his learning he was not qualified to aid him in the great work of reformation.

All that the Reformer asked of this scholar, therefore, was that he would remain quiet, that while he declined to take up his part in behalf of the cause of evangelical truth, he would forbear to oppose it.

Meanwhile Erasmus, endeavoring to occupy a sort of middle ground between the Reformation and the established order of things, more and more discerned his position to be one of difficulty. His veerings, now toward the one party and then toward the other, were just what would be contemplated with disgust by such a man as Luther. "You are trying," said the

latter, "to walk on eggs without breaking them."

In reference to the vacillations of Erasmus, Luther added: "We Christians ought to be well persuaded of what we teach, and to be able to say *yes* and *no*. To object to our affirming with full conviction what we believe, is to strip us of our faith itself. The Holy Spirit is no spirit of doubt, and he has written in our hearts a firm and peaceful assurance, which makes us as sure of the object of faith as we are of our existence."

Yet much as these two great men differed from each other, a hope was long cherished by Luther and by his friends that both would, in some day, be united in resistance to Rome. "I will not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ," he wrote to Zwingle, "at least, *so far as the times will allow.*"

Thus he seemed to favor the Reformation. "Yet just in proportion as he saw Rome rising up against the favorers of the Reformation, he prudently drew back from them. All parties looked to him. Pope, emperor, kings, nobles, men of learning, and even his most intimate friends, entreated him to take up his pen against the Reformer."

"You cannot," wrote the pope to him, "you cannot possibly undertake a work more ac-

ceptable to God and more worthy of your genius."

We are told that Erasmus for a long time held out against these solicitations. He knew that the cause of the Reformation was the cause of religion and learning. He knew, also, that Luther was no mean adversary, and he dreaded to enter the lists with him. "To write against Luther," said he to a Romish divine, "is a matter full of hazard."

Luther, indignant at the timid policy of Erasmus, broke through the painful restraint which he had hitherto imposed upon himself, and addressed him a letter as follows:

"*You* have not yet received from the Lord the courage requisite for marching side by side with us against the papists. We bear with your weakness. If learning prospers, and if, by its means, the treasury of Scripture is unlocked to all comers, it is a gift which God has given us by you; a noble gift, for which our praise ascends to heaven. But do not desert the post assigned you, to take up your quarters in our camp. No doubt your eloquence and genius might be useful to us; but, since your courage fails you, remain where you are. If I could have my will, those who are acting with me should leave your old age in peace, to fall asleep in the Lord. The greatness of our cause

has long ago surpassed your strength. But then, dear Erasmus, cease, I pray you, to scatter, with open hands, the biting satire you are so skilled to clothe in flowery rhetoric; for the slightest stroke of your pen inflicts more pain than the being ground to powder by all the papists put together. Be satisfied to be a spectator of our tragedy; only abstain from writing against me, and I will not attack you."

It is said that this letter was received by Erasmus as the keenest of insults, and probably had the effect to determine him on publishing against Luther.

His reply was: "Perhaps Erasmus will better serve the Gospel by writing against you, than certain senseless writers on your own side, whose doctrines do not allow me to be any longer a mere spectator of the tragedy."

And Erasmus took up his pen against the Reformation. His effort was in the shape of an attack upon Luther on the doctrine of free will.

Luther had maintained that the powers of man's nature are so strongly inclined to evil, that, in his own strength, he cannot turn to God and perform the works of righteousness. This is a sentiment which, under some modifications, is held by evangelical Christians generally.

Erasmus, on the other hand, favored the Pelagian view, and contended that man has, of his

own nature and aside from grace, the ability to repent and do works meet for repentance.

But he put forth his work with much trembling, and his alarm soon increased to such a degree that he bitterly lamented the step he had taken. "Why," said he to himself, "why was I not permitted to grow old in the mount of the muses! Here am I, at sixty years of age, forcibly thrust forward into the arena, and I am throwing the cestus and the net instead of handling the lyre!" "I am aware," said he to the Bishop of Rochester, "that in writing upon free will, I was going out of my sphere; you congratulate me on my triumphs. Ah! I do not know over whom. The faction [the Reformation] gathers strength daily. Was it then my fate, at my time of life, to pass from my place as a friend of the muses, to that of a miserable gladiator?"

When Luther received Erasmus's book, he considered it to be so feebly argued that he was in doubt whether to make any reply to it. "What," he exclaimed, "all this eloquence in so bad a cause! It is as if a man should serve up mud on gold and silver dishes. One cannot get any hold upon you. You are like an eel that slips through one's fingers; or like the fabled Proteus, who changes his form when in the very arms of him who would strangle him."

But the Romanists were full of exultations: "Well, where is your Luther now? Where is the great Maccabeus? Let him enter the lists! Let him come forward! Ah! ah! he has at last found his match! He has had a lesson to keep in the back ground! he has learned to be silent."

Thus Luther saw that he must answer Erasmus, and he answered him unsparingly. One or two extracts from his reply is all we can admit. "If the passages you quote," said he, "establish the principle that it is as easy for us to do good, wherefore is it that we are disputing? And what need can we have of *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit?* Christ would then have shed his blood without necessity to obtain for us a power which we already had in our own nature."

"Dear Diatribe," says Luther ironically, (Diatribe was the name of Erasmus's dissertation,) "Dear Diatribe, mighty heroine, you who pride yourself on having explained away those words of our Lord in St. John's Gospel, 'Without me ye can do nothing,' although you acknowledge their force, and call them Luther's Achilles, listen to me: Unless you prove that this word *nothing* not only may, but must signify *a little*, all your sounding words, all your famous examples, have no more effect than if a man were to attempt to oppose a mighty conflagration with a handful of straw. What matter to us such assertions as,

This may mean, this may be thus understood, while you ought to prove to us that it *must* be so understood. Unless you do this, we take the declaration in its *literal* meaning, and laugh at all your examples, your fine exordiums, and self-complacent boastings."

Luther closes his reply as follows: "I confess that you are a great man; in whom have we ever beheld more learning, intelligence, or readiness, both in speaking or writing? As to me, I possess none of these qualities; in one thing only can I glory: I am a Christian. May God raise you infinitely above me in the knowledge of his Gospel, so that you may surpass me in that respect as much as you do in every other."

"Erasmus was incensed beyond measure by the perusal of Luther's answer, and looked upon his encomiums as the honey of a poisoned cup, or the embrace of a serpent at the moment he fixes his deadly fang. He immediately wrote to the elector of Saxony, demanding justice; and when Luther wished to appease him, he lost his usual temper, and, in the words of one of his most zealous apologists, 'began to pour forth invectives in a feeble voice and with hoary hairs.'"

"Erasmus was conquered. Moderation had, till this occasion, been his strength; and now this left him. Anger was the only weapon he

could oppose to Luther's energy. The wisdom of the philosopher, on this occasion, failed him. He replied publicly in his *Hyperapistes*, in which he accuses the Reformer of barbarism, falsehood, and blasphemy. The philosopher even ventured on prophecy. "I predict," said he, "that no name under heaven will hereafter be more execrated than Luther's." The jubilee of 1817 has replied to this prophecy, after a lapse of three centuries, by the enthusiasm and acclamations of the entire Protestant world.

LUTHER AND ZWINGLE.

But while Luther appears to so much advantage in confronting Erasmus, we are compelled to write that in facing Zwingle he is less successful and happy. The cause is obvious. In opposing Erasmus he was combating error, while in opposing Zwingle he fought against the truth, and all strength is weakness when thus employed.

Zwingle seems to have occupied in Switzerland a position very similar to that of Luther in Germany. These great men stood at the head of the Reformation in their respective countries, and this Reformation appears to have arisen about the same time in the north and the south,

and to have been accompanied by similar circumstances and trials.

It is remarkable, however, that the Swiss Reformer broke more completely away from the errors of Rome than did the great German. It was on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, however, that the principal difference existed. Luther, although he had relinquished the dogma of transubstantiation, yet insisted that the real presence of the body and blood of Christ was with the elements of bread and wine when consecrated by the minister.

Zwingle, on the other hand, insisted that, instead of such real presence, the bread and wine are merely *signs* of Christ's body and blood, and that the partaking of Christ at the Supper is purely spiritual.

This difference between Luther and Zwingle was esteemed by the former to be essential; and consequently Zwingle and the Swiss were reckoned by Luther and Melancthon as not belonging to the true Church of Christ. Thus there seemed to be an open and fatal breach among the reformed Christians, a state of things greatly to be deplored, and which was likely to cause all the enemies of the truth to triumph.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, was especially desirous to effect a union of all the disciples of the word of God, deeming it necessary to the

success of the Reformation. He accordingly invited the theologians of the different parties to meet at Marburg, for the purpose, if possible, of effecting a reconciliation and a union.

Zwingle, whose heart was large and fraternal, gladly accepted this invitation; while Luther, on his part, appeared to see nothing good as the result; and it is intimated that he and Melancthon actually resorted to some pitiful subterfuges as excuses for non-compliance with the invitation to Marburg.

But while they reluctantly undertook the journey, they did so with this unreasonable declaration to the prince who invited them: "If the Swiss do not yield to us, all your trouble will be lost."

Very different was the spirit of Zwingle, who, as he contemplated the meeting, said: "I am convinced that if the doctors meet face to face, the splendor of truth will illuminate our eyes."

The Conference met. Zwingle desired that it should be an open one, but Luther was opposed to it. At length it was resolved that the princes, nobles, deputies, and theologians should be admitted. But many distinguished gentlemen and scholars, who had come a long distance to listen to the discussion, were excluded.

Luther entered the hall, approached the table, and with a piece of chalk wrote, in large char-

acters, upon the velvet table-cloth: "*Hoc est corpus meum*"—This is my body.

The contest began. Luther and Melancthon on the one side, and Zwingle and Ecolampadius on the other. The landgrave's chancellor reminded the disputants, in the prince's name, that the object of the colloquy was the re-establishment of union.

Luther. "I protest that I differ from my adversaries with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that I shall always differ from them. Christ has said: '*This is my body.*' Let them show me that a body is not a body. I reject reason, common sense, carnal arguments, and mathematical proofs. God is above mathematics. We have the word of God; we must adore it, and perform it."

Ecolampadius. "It cannot be denied that there are figures of speech in the word of God: as *John is Elias; the rock was Christ; I am the vine.* The expression, *This is my body*, is a figure of the same kind."

Luther yielded that there were figures in the Bible, but denied that this last expression was a figure.

Ecolampadius. "There is danger of attributing too much to mere matter."

Luther. "Everything that God commands becomes spirit and life. If it is by the Lord's

order that we lift up a straw, in that very action we perform a spiritual work. We must pay attention to him who speaks, and not to what he says. God speaks; men, worms, listen. God commands; let the world obey; and let us all together fall down and humbly kiss the word."

Zwingle. "The soul is fed with the Spirit, and not with the flesh."

Luther. "It is with the mouth that we eat the body; the soul does not eat it."

Zwingle. "Christ's body is, therefore, a corporeal nourishment, and not a spiritual."

Luther. "You are captious."

Zwingle. "Not so; but you utter contradictory things."

Luther. "If God should present me wild apples, I should eat them spiritually. In the Eucharist the mouth receives the body of Christ, and the soul believes in his words."

"Zwingle then quoted a great number of passages from the Holy Scripture, in which the sign is described by the very thing signified; and thence concluded that, considering our Lord's declaration in St. John, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, we must explain the words in the Eucharist in a similar manner."

Luther. "*This is my body*," pointing with his finger to the words written before him upon the table cloth. "*This is my body.* The devil him-

self shall not drive me from that. To seek to understand it is to fall away from the faith."

Zwingle. "But, doctor, St. John explains how Christ's body is eaten; and you will be obliged at last, to leave off singing always the same song."

Luther. "You make use of unmannerly expressions."

Zwingle. "I ask you, doctor, whether Christ, in the sixth chapter of St. John, did not wish to reply to the question that had been put to him?"

Luther. "Mr. Zwingle, you wish to stop my mouth by the arrogance of your language. That passage has nothing to do here."

Zwingle. "Pardon me, doctor; that passage breaks your neck."

Luther. "Do not boast so much. You are in Hesse, and not in Switzerland. In this country we do not break people's necks."

Zwingle. "In Switzerland also there is strict justice, and we break no man's neck without trial. That expression signifies merely that your cause is lost and hopeless."

In this manner the dispute went on for some time longer. Luther was perpetually cramped, and grew more and more restive, and ever, when hard pressed, retreating to his

sentiment which he had written before him; till at length he seized the velvet covering on which the words were written, pulled it off from the table, held it up in front of his antagonists, and placing it before their eyes, exclaimed: "See, see! This is our text; you have not yet driven us from it as you have boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

"If this be the case," said Ecolampadius, "we had better leave off the discussion."

Thus the conference ended. Luther did not cease from calling upon the Swiss to submit simply to his opinion, and when the chancellor, alarmed at this termination of the colloquy, exhorted the theologians to come to an understanding, he replied: "I know not but one means for that, and it is this: let our adversaries believe as we do."

"We cannot," replied the Swiss.

"Well, then," replied Luther, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that he will enlighten you."

Zwingle was silent and deeply moved; and he burst into tears in the presence of all the assembly.

The time of separation drew near, and nothing had been accomplished. The landgrave toiled earnestly to effect a union, and pressed and entreated, and warned, and exhorted the

two parties to union of heart, even if they could not reach a union of sentiment.

Zwingle was ready. "Let us," said he, "confess our union in all things in which we agree; and as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers. There will never be peace between the Churches if, while we maintain the grand doctrine of salvation by faith, we cannot differ on secondary points."

This is the true principle of Christian union. Zwingle then approaching the Wittenberg doctors, said: "There is no one upon earth with whom I more desire to be united than with you."

"Acknowledge them! acknowledge them as brothers!" exclaimed the landgrave to Luther.

Their hearts were moved; they were on the eve of unity. Zwingle, bursting into tears, approaches Luther, and holds out his hand; but Luther rejects the hand that is offered him, saying repeatedly, "You have a different spirit from ours."

Then the whole party from Wittenberg confer together, and concurred that their peculiar doctrine on the eucharist was essential to salvation. They turn to Zwingle and his friends and say: "You do not belong to the communion of the Christian Church. We cannot acknowledge you as brethren."

There was still further conversation, when the Swiss, having exhausted their solicitations, said: "We are conscious of having acted as in the presence of God. Posterity will be our witness."

As they continued to talk Luther became softened; Christian charity resumed her rights in his heart. "Assuredly," said he, "a great portion of the scandal is taken away by the suppression of our fierce debates; we could not have hoped for so much. May Christ's hand remove the last obstacle that separates us! There is now a friendly concord between us, and if we persevere in prayer brotherhood will come."

The two parties then drew up and signed fifteen articles of faith. In these articles there was entire agreement except in the article relating to the Eucharist. Here they agreed on the following statement: "And although, at present, we are not agreed on the question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both the interested parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity for one another, so far as conscience permits; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by his Spirit to confirm us in the sound doctrine."

Thus the two parties agreed to differ, and the Swiss obtained what they had asked, *unity in diversity.*

In this important conference Luther appeared to disadvantage; and while he assumed the air of a conqueror, and claimed the victory, he undoubtedly came forth from the conflict only second best. The victory was in reality with Zwingle; and by means of this dispute the Swiss doctrine concerning the Supper was propagated through all Germany. The landgrave himself was converted to the Swiss view.

CLOSING SKETCHES.

Our remaining sketches of Luther must be brief and few. He lived fifteen years after the events of the preceding chapter, and lights and shadows, as usual, characterized the picture.

In the last illness of his mother, 1531, Luther writes to her: "All the children, and my Katy, pray for you. Some of them weep, and some eat, and say, 'Grandmother is very sick.' The grace of God be with us all."

In the following year died the Elector John, at his summer residence, near Wittenberg. Luther visited him a short time before his death, and writes: "Alas! how great a prince dieth

here alone, without the presence of a son, relative, or friend, to witness his departure! Just as children are born without sorrow, live without sorrow, and die without sorrow, so will our dear prince, at the last day, come to himself, as if fresh from the chase in the Lochan Forest, and will not be conscious of what happened to him."

In 1535 the project of a general council was renewed, before which the two great religious parties, Catholic and Protestant, might bring their complaints for adjudication. The German diets had requested this, and had petitioned the emperor, Charles V., accordingly. He promised such a council, and had an interview with the pope on the subject, who appeared to favor the idea; and a legate, Vigerio, was appointed to repair to Germany, and negotiate in respect to this matter. The legate visited Wittenberg for the purpose of conversing with Luther, who had no confidence whatever in the pope's intentions or plans. He determined, however, to accept the invitation sent to himself and Bugenhagen to breakfast with the legate. Early in the morning he sends for his barber to prepare him for the interview. On the arrival of the barber, the latter inquires:

"Why do you wish to be shaved so early?"

Luther. "I am going to visit the pope's legate, and I must adorn myself so as to appear young;

then the legate will say, "Zounds! is Luther so young, who has done so much mischief? What, then, will he do in time to come?"

Arriving, they are immediately admitted, and kindly received, and the conversation touching the proposed council soon commences.

Luther. "You are not in earnest about holding a council; it is only a trick; and if you were to hold one, it would concern itself only about cowls, shorn heads, meats, drinks, and such like foolish things, and others still more useless, which we know, at the outset, to be nothing. But of faith and justification, and other useful and weighty matters, such as how believers may be united in spirit and in faith, you do not wish to confer, nor would it be for your interest. But if you desire to have a council, very well; have one and I will come, though I should know you would burn me at the stake."

Legate. "Where? In what city will you have the council?"

Luther. "Where you please: at Mantua or Padua, or Florence, or wheresoever you please."

Legate. "Will you come to Bologna?"

Luther. "To whom does that place belong?"

Legate. "To the pope."

Luther. "Gracious Lord! hath the pope got his clutches on that city too! Well, I will come."

Legate. "The pope would not refuse to come to you at Wittenberg."

Luther. "Let him come; we should like to see him."

Legate. "*How* would you like to see him, with an army or without?"

Luther. "Just as best pleases him; we will be ready for either."

Legate. "Do you consecrate priests?"

Luther. "To be sure; for the pope will not consecrate or ordain any of us."

After the interview was closed, and the legate was departing, "See," said he, "that you are prepared for the council." Luther replied: "I will come, sir, with this neck of mine."

The Protestants, however, in the convention of Smalcald, 1537, refused to participate in a general council. They required that the council be held in Germany, that the pope should not be both party and judge, and that the Scriptures should be the ultimate authority; and they knew very well that the pope would listen to no such conditions.

About this time died George, Duke of Saxony, who for twenty years, that is, ever since Luther's famous encounter with Eck at Leipsic, had been a most determined and bitter enemy of the Reformer, and of the Protestant doctrines.

Duke Henry, his successor, favoring the evan-

gelical doctrines, at once introduced the Reformation into his dominions, beginning at Leipsic; and Luther was invited to preach the first sermon on that occasion, in the same chapel where, twenty years before, he debated with Dr. Eck. He had, years before, predicted this event. "I see," said he, "that Duke George will not cease opposing the word of God and the poor Lutherans. But I shall live to see him and his whole family perish, and shall, one day, preach God's word in Leipsic." And he preached; and the crowds filled the church and the yard around it; and the hearers fell on their knees, and in their tears thanked God that the time of their deliverance had come.

DEATH.

The great Luther was now (1545) rapidly nearing the close of life. He had completed his last literary work, his Commentary on Genesis, which had cost him ten years of diligent labor. The last words he wrote, as he finished the Commentary, were: "I am weak, and can do no more. Pray God that he may grant me a peaceful, happy death!"

Having business at Mansfeld, he left Wittenburg in January, 1546, accompanied by his

three sons. He reached Eisleben in feeble health. Soon, however, partially recovering, he seems to have prosecuted his business with more diligence than success.

In his impatience, he addressed his wife in the pleasant humor following:

"To the profoundly learned lady, Catherine Luther, my gracious housewife at Wittenburg:

"DEAR KATY: We continue here in a state of vexation, and wish ourselves away. But that cannot be, I think, within a week. You may tell Melancthon to correct his Postil, for he did not understand why the Lord called riches *thorns*. This is a school for learning to understand that.

"Your sons are at Mansfeld. We have enough to eat and to drink, and should have good times, were it not for these disagreeable transactions."

It was at Eisleben, and only three days before his death, that Luther preached his last sermon. His text was Matt. xi, 25–30; and he soon closed by saying:

"This, and much more, may be said from the passage; but I am too weak, *and here we will stop.*"

This was on Sunday. On the Wednesday following he alternately reclined upon his couch and walked his room, breathing out prayers to God.

At dinner he remarked: "If I could only reconcile the rulers of my native place with one another, and then, with God's permission, make the journey, I would go home and lay myself down to sleep in my grave, and let the worms destroy my body."

Between dinner and supper he complained of distressing pressure and pain in the breast. This returned after supper; but being rubbed with warm cloths, with the help of some favorite medicine, he slept till ten o'clock in the evening. Then rising and attempting to walk, he was obliged to return immediately to his bed, where he slept till one.

He now awoke extremely ill, and said to Justus Jonas, who was at his side: "O my dear Jonas! I think I shall die here at Eisleben, where I was born and baptized."

A profuse sweat which was upon him having the effect to encourage his friends, "It is a cold death-sweat," he said; "I must yield up my spirit, for my malady increaseth."

"He then prayed fervently, and commended his soul confidently to God. After taking a little medicine, and assuring his friends that he

should die, he repeated three times quickly the words: 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Thou hast redeemed me, thou faithful God!'"

"Venerable father!" said one of his attendants, "do you die, trusting in Christ, and in the doctrine which you have preached?"

"Yes!" was his distinct reply: and this was his last utterance. He soon sunk away, and with folded hands, and a gentle sigh, he fell quietly asleep, February 18, 1546, at the age of sixty-two years.

On the following day two funeral sermons were preached at Eisleben, before an immense audience.

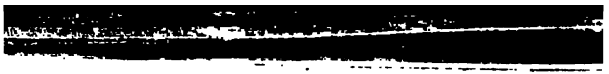
The same day, at noon, the corpse left the city, accompanied by the Counts of Mansfeld, and fifty-five horsemen, for Wittenberg.

Approaching Halle, "the clergy, civil authorities, citizens, schools, matrons, virgins, and children, in great multitudes, came out in mourning, and singing funeral hymns, to meet the procession."

As they came to Wittenberg they were met by the widow and sons of the deceased, together with a great multitude from the university and town. Proceeding to the church, a funeral sermon was preached by Bugenhagen. After which the vast assembly was addressed,

as was meet, by Melancthon, and then the remains were deposited in their final resting-place, there to await the resurrection of the just.

Here we close abruptly our imperfect view of the great Luther. He was, indeed, one of the great men of history. He was not perfect: some decided faults pertained to his character. With all his freedom he was not guiltless of the stain of bigotry; and with all the grace vouchsafed to him, he was not always gentle, and easy to be entreated. Yet was he, with whatever failings he may have possessed, a greatly distinguished moral hero, a learned and mighty champion for the truth, and one of the most eminent benefactors of his race that has adorned the annals of time.



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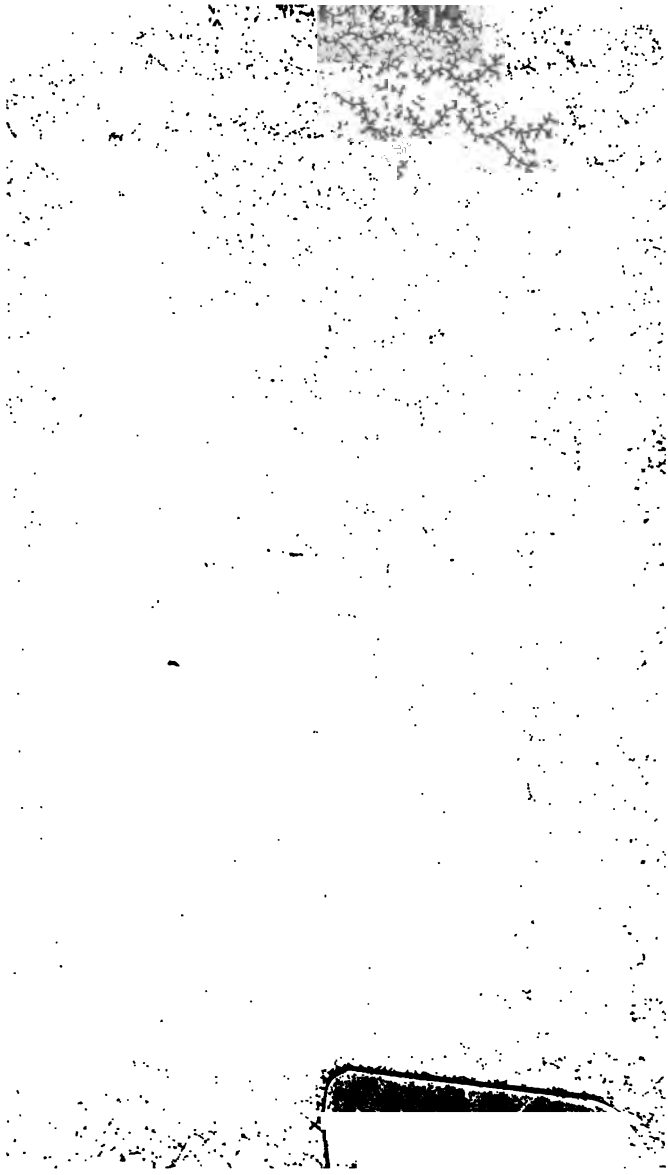
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